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Vienna Talks Called 'Concrete,' 'Meaningful'

LD2303141389 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

Political observers describe as concrete and meaningful the first round of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and talks on confidence- and security-building measures that ended here on Thursday. During the sessions delegations of countries taking part in the talks clearly set forth their respective stands and displayed the willingness to thoroughly analyse them. The sides gave up futile polemics and the discussion of figures that undermined the mechanism of the many disarmament forums, and held a businesslike exchange of views on problems connected with the reduction of military arsenals, the strengthening of security and the development of confidence-building measures.

Experts pointed out that the overall tone of the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe had been set by a constructive and active stand of the Warsaw Treaty member states. They had put forward a long-term three-stage programme of the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments to the levels sufficient for defence. The NATO stand lacks this clear perspective. NATO countries proposed the reduction of only three types of weapons—tanks, artillery and armoured vehicles. One of the difficulties consists in the fact that it is not clear so far what armaments should be the first to be reduced. The NATO list is obviously not sufficient for eliminating in Europe the threat of a sudden attack and of large-scale combat operations.

This is why the USSR and other socialist countries propose to reduce not only tanks, artillery pieces and armoured personnel carriers, but also warplanes and combat helicopters. This approach is justified and understandable: The air force squadron existing in Europe is by its strike capability the strongest and the most effective type of offensive weapon. There is another major defect in the NATO proposals. They do not say anything about troop reduction, although it is common knowledge that personnel is the main component part of the offensive armed forces.

Both the spheres of accord and different approaches to some problems were revealed at the talks on confidence- and security-building measures. NATO and Warsaw Treaty member states, neutral and non-aligned countries favour the development of the Stockholm agreements, the expansion of glasnost and the predictability of military activities. However, NATO proposes to introduce some insignificant changes in the Stockholm agreements, while the concept of socialist countries envisages the working out of a new generation of confidence-building measures on the ground, in the sea and in the air.

We do not close our eyes to the existing differences, Ambassador at Large Oleg Grinevskiy, head of a Soviet delegation at both talks, told TASS. However, I should like to point to an important positive factor: The talks are developing not along the lines of confrontation, but along the lines of businesslike cooperation and the quest for solutions. Our delegation came to Vienna with the instructions to work for an honest agreement meeting the interests of all the participants in the talks. This is connected in the most natural way with the democratisation of Soviet society and with perestroyka. They clearly show what our objectives are, where the Soviet Union plans to channel its resources and what are its real intentions.

GDR Seeks Arms Cuts 'Primarily' in FRG

PM2203170589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (GDR) Central Committee Politburo and GDR national defense minister, by own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov under the heading "Together Toward Disarmament"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Podklyuchnikov] What, in your opinion, is the significance of the statement by the Committee of Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers?

[Kessler] Within the alliance of Warsaw Pact states, we are all united—and the highest representatives of our countries, Comrades M.S. Gorbachev and E. Honecker, have repeatedly drawn urgent attention to this—on the point that it is essential to continue the disarmament process without letting up and strengthen the dynamics of this process still further. Primarily the Soviet Union, but other socialist states too have been responsible for setting this process in motion. Their main concern is that this process should not stop.

These steps are also being taken by the GDR. I believe this has great political and military significance. Socialism is showing the whole world that it is not simply declaring disarmament but is actually implementing it in practice. The socialist states are taking important unilateral steps in the interests of the earliest possible conclusion of treaties binding on all. This is being recognized and worthily appraised throughout the world. Our recent measures are unprecedented in the long history of the struggle for disarmament.

The publication on 30 January 1989 of information on the arms and armed forces of the two strongest military coalitions represents yet another measure by the Warsaw Pact states that is helping to build confidence—as people of all political orientations admit. Unlike the games with figures engaged in by NATO, or individual states which are members of that bloc, this information gives the world public an objective picture of the historically formed correlation of armed forces between the two

military alliances in Europe. At the same time, it removes the grounds for any speculation and doubts regarding our honest terms for proceeding with steps in the disarmament sphere acceptable to both sides.

[Podklyuchnikov] What is your opinion of the reduction in arms and armed forces in your country?

[Kessler] For the GDR, it means a 10-percent reduction in the defense budget, the disbanding of six tank regiments and one air squadron, the removal from operational status of 600 tanks and 50 fighter aircraft, and a reduction in the present numerical strength of the GDR National People's Army of 10,000 personnel. The practical implementation of these measures has already begun and will continue through 1990.

This step by the German socialist state is particularly convincing evidence that our peaceful policy is consistent and that the GDR is fully aware of its historical responsibility on the line of confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. It is also evidence of the reason, circumspection, and goodwill present in the the GDR on foreign policy, security questions, and military policy, which is determined by our principle: A war must never start again on German soil—only peace must come from here.

From a military viewpoint, these measures to make cuts are part of the practical implementation of the joint military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states (the principles of which coincide with the GDR's military doctrine) and the process of further imparting a defensive nature to our armed forces.

It is here, in the heart of Europe, that armed confrontation must be removed, any kind of military conflict prevented, and the military balance maintained at an increasingly lower level. We must also ensure that those on either side of the line dividing NATO and the Warsaw Pact do not have the capacity to attack.

Consequently, GDR citizens, like the peoples of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, hope and expect that our peace initiatives will prompt a positive response in the West. From our viewpoint, this naturally primarily applies to the FRG Government, which, both in NATO and among all the Western European states, has the most considerable military contingents in quantitative and qualitative respects. We hope that the FRG will provide for similar measures for its arms and armed forces and refrain from the so-called "modernization" of its nuclear weapon delivery vehicles. Millions of FRG citizens also desire this.

[Podklyuchnikov] How do you perceive the future ways of deepening the European process of detente, conducting the talks on reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe, and eliminating asymmetries in individual types of weapons?

[Kessler] The determining factor has been and still remains the political will of both sides to clarify and resolve emerging questions through political dialogue, in other words by peaceful means. We must create a world with smaller and smaller quantities of weapons. The realization that, in our age and especially here in Europe, any type of war—be it nuclear or conventional—would be fatal and would result in universal catastrophe must make headway and must ultimately determine both the foreign and military policy of NATO states. Today it is obvious that peace cannot be ensured in a state of confrontation, but only through joint efforts.

We are perfectly entitled to assert with a certain amount of confidence that this realization is increasingly making headway not only among peace-loving people in East and West but also among government and economic circles in the Western world. It is with this that we associate our hope that, ultimately and in the course of a complex process, it will become possible to squeeze out the forces which earn the most profits from the arms race and which, refusing to accept the realities which emerged as a result of World War II, would like to change them by any means. Such an approach to the development of foreign policy relations is fraught with military adventures.

On the whole, we are not pessimistic in our appraisal of the situation because we believe in the peoples' will for peace, in the persuasive power of the example of the USSR and its allies, in human reason, and in the realism of politicians from states on all continents. Recent opinion polls in NATO countries, including the FRG, have shown that the legends about "threat from the East," borrowed from the arsenal of the most reactionary forces, are accepted by only a minority of the population, although even this is of course bad.

There can be no doubt that the improvement of international relations, the peaceful course of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states, and our steps in the cause of detente will have a positive effect on the Vienna talks and will contribute to further genuine disarmament measures.

[Podklyuchnikov] A number of socialist countries recently announced unilateral reductions of armed forces and armaments and military budget cutbacks. What do you think: Is this not likely to have an effect on the defense capability of these countries and of the Warsaw Pact as a whole?

[Kessler] No, I don't think so. Because we are in no way ignoring the dangers which still threaten socialism and peace. All our joint efforts—in the foreign policy or the military sphere—have served and still serve the reliable protection of peace and of our peoples' socialist gains. No matter how important and effective our unilateral steps in the interests of military detente and disarmament may be, it is necessary to observe the principle of

reciprocity. Our defense readiness and defense capability as regards any possible imperialist intrigues must be maintained at the proper level.

The Sofia statement by the Defense Ministers Committee is convincing proof of this. The Warsaw Pact states have made a major advance concession by reducing their armed forces. But they still cannot renounce the men, equipment, weapons, and potential necessary to ensure under all conditions their peoples' peaceful labor and their sovereignty and independence.

We also know that personnel and armaments reductions in our armies make greater demands of the command structure, the quality of education and training, discipline and order, and combat might and combat readiness, and also demand labor and strenuous efforts to perform our defense tasks.

"The extent of our defense efforts," Erich Honecker said at the 7th SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany (GDR)] Central Committee Plenum, "does not depend on the concept of what is desirable, but is determined by the degree of potential threat."

GDR citizens, and National People's Army servicemen in particular, are well aware of the lofty sense of responsibility with which the Soviet Army ranks show concern for the reliable defense of our shared gains. During the Brotherhood in Arms Week, which we celebrated jointly in the GDR between 23 February and 1 March on the anniversaries of the creation of our two armies, we were again given an opportunity to clearly see this for ourselves.

I would like to take advantage of this interview to assure PRAVDA's readers and all citizens of the land of the soviets, and especially the Soviet Army servicemen: The lasting class and military alliance with the Soviet Union has been, is, and will remain for us the most important external foundation of our security; this alliance constitutes an immutable prerequisite of successful struggle to further comprehensively strengthen socialism and to further pursue the efforts to reduce military confrontation and create a "common European home" for peaceful coexistence and good-neighborliness.

Arms Cuts Called 'Invitation to Cooperation'

LD2303020689 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary—read by announcer]

[Excerpts] The Presidium of the Soviet national parliament has issued a decree about unilateral reduction of Soviet troops, declared earlier in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech. More from Vladislav Kozyakov: [passage omitted]

On Tuesday, when the decree was published in Moscow, the American position was again confirmed at the ceremony of inaugurating the U.S. defense secretary in Washington. It was declared that the United States was against unilateral arms reductions by the West. The United States explains its position by the fact that following the unilateral arms reduction the Soviet Union and its allies will still have more tanks, artillery pieces, and some other weapons than the NATO member countries.

Meanwhile, the Soviet decision is not aimed at eliminating at one go the disbalances in arms which has been created for dozens of years. The disbalances and asymmetries are being reviewed at the Vienna talks where Warsaw Treaty member countries advanced businesslike and detailed proposals highly assessed in the West. The unilateral arms reduction to be carried out by this country is not connected with the Vienna talks. The NATO is not obliged to follow suit. The move is an invitation to cooperation. In this context, the United States and other NATO member countries have broad opportunities for reciprocal moves. By reducing the number of its tanks in Europe by 10,000, which equals 30 American tank divisions, the Soviet Union wants to remove a Western concern in this field. However, the West should also take into account Soviet concern about NATO superiority in tactical aircraft and navy in Europe. The Soviet leadership has no monopoly for the new political thinking; the new political thinking is knocking more and more loudly at the doors of the Western governments.

Official Notes 'Realistic' Stand by Bush on SDI

LD2203143989 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—For years the Reagan administration went out of its way to convince its NATO allies and other countries that the Strategic Defence Initiative, better known as Star Wars, is useful and even necessary for mankind.

But most countries are still skeptical, according to Gen. Nikolay Chervov, department head of the Soviet General Staff.

Speaking to TASS in connection with the sixth anniversary of the announcement of the Star Wars programme, Chervov said that Washington was exploiting fears of nuclear arms by asserting that SDI could rid the world of nuclear weapons.

"We view SDI as a military programme targeted against the Soviet Union and designed to gain decisive military advantage", Chervov said.

"It is extremely destablilising, provokes the arms race and increases the risk of a nuclear war."

"Our arguments against SDI are as follows:

"Firstly, SDI means an introduction of arms to space. These weapons will have an offensive rather than defensive character and will be capable of hitting numerous targets 4 to 5 thousand kilometres away in a very short time. Space strike weapons have a high degree of combat readiness, can be used almost instantly and if used leave no time for defensive or retaliatory measures.

"Secondly, the SDI programme stipulates space deployment of extremely complex automated weapons systems. The more sophisticated the systems are technically, the more likely are human errors, hitches and unpredictable situations that can have catastrophic consequences. Human civilisation will become a hostage to technology.

"Thirdly, SDI aims to acquire disarming first strike capability. Massive deployment of space and land-based weapons at several stages will help destroy incoming missiles launched in retaliation. The United States obviously wants to be able to get away with a first nuclear strike, gain military advantage and a chance to blackmail the Soviet Union and impose its will on this country."

The Star Wars violates the ABM Treaty which has no time limitations and is a cornerstone of the arms reduction process, Chervov said.

The implementation of SDI will inevitably kill the ABM and other treaties and remove major limitations on the arms race.

Chervov said that the Bush administration seems to have a realistic stand toward the SDI programme and its adventurism and, judging by available information, might limit it to laboratory research, without violating the ABM Treaty. Common sense must prevail and the mutually-agreed Washington formula of how to read the ABM Treaty must not be scrapped. This will remove one of the major obstacles for 50 percent reductions of strategic offensive forces.

Military Officials Visit Poland, Bulgaria

Received by Poland's Jaruzelski

PM2003084989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Mar—W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee and chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of State, today received Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, and Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact states Joint Armed Forces, who are in Poland.

During the meeting, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, they exchanged opinions on ways to reduce military confrontation in Europe and to further strengthen the collaboration of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact states.

Army General F. Siwicki, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Polish People's Republic minister of national defense, took part in the conversation.

Meet With Bulgaria's Zhivkov

LD2003234789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Todor Zhivkov received in Sofia today Army General Lushev, USSR first deputy minister of defense and commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, and Army General Lobov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states.

They exchanged views about ways to strengthen trust, good neighborliness, and cooperation in the Balkans. The tasks of the Warsaw Pact organization concerning the implementation of the policy of the fraternal socialist countries under new conditions was examined. [video shows handshakes, Zhivkov and delegates seated facing Lushev, Lobov, and two uniformed men]

'Friendship-89' Military Exercise Held in GDR

Commander Cites 'Defensive Themes'

PM2303111589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General M. Kalinin, first deputy commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, by correspondent Colonel A. Vasilets under the rubric "News: Facts, Events, Commentaries": "'Friendship-89.' Fraternal Armies Conduct Joint Troop Exercise on GDR Territory"; date, place not given]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel A. Vasilets met with Lieutenant General M. Kalinin, first deputy commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [as published] and leader of the exercise.

[Kalinin] The present troop exercise by the fraternal armies is entirely devoted to defensive themes. Under the plan, the task is to halt the "enemy," exhaust him in defensive fighting, and push him back.... We are not gambling, as previously, on offensive counteroperations, and chief attention will be concentrated on the ability to defend ourselves in a tactically competent manner....

[Vasilets] What does this mean in practice?

[Kalinin] Above all, the creation of a deeply echeloned defense which the "enemy" would not have sufficient strength to overcome. And this means the engineer equipping of positions held and the construction of fortifications. It is very important to have a well thought-out fire system in order, in case of a threat, to transfer it promptly to the most dangerous salients and not give the "enemy" an opportunity to build upon success in any sector. Much here will depend on concerted actions between ground forces and air forces, and it is proposed, for example, to have helicopters plant minefields....

[Vasilets] And yet passive defense....

[Kalinin] No way are we talking about passive defense! Defense must be active. We will endeavor to place troops in such conditions whereby within the dynamics of the operations they can actively maneuver their forces and means, launch counterattacks, and commit reserves. For the first time, for example, a river crossing is being prepared in advance so as to be able, in the event of a strong "enemy" onslaught, to withdraw with minimal losses to previously prepared positions and use a natural barrier—a river line—for defense. Controlled minefields will be used—our own troops will be able to cross them freely, but the ground could literally burn beneath the "enemy's" feet....

[Vasilets] Will tasks connected with the change in the organizational-staff structure be rehearsed on this exercise?

[Kalinin] In this sense this exercise may be considered nonstandard. Although the structure of the troops mobilized in the exercise is still as before, we will take into account that there will soon be a considerable drop in the number of tanks in the regiments and divisions. How will this affect the troops' defensive potential? How effective will be their reinforcement with antitank and other fire means? There are many questions that have to be answered.

[Vasilets] To all appearances, questions of cooperation between subunits and units of the fraternal armies will also leave their mark on the nature of the "Friendship-89" exercise. Will any difficulties arise here in connection, for example, with surmounting the language barrier?

[Kalinin] We have long known each other well. This is not the first time we have met on training battlefields. Brigade General Edmund Boloczuch and Major General Mikhael Shlotkhauer, deputy leaders of the exercise, speak Russian very well, and we understand one another excellently. Many officers of the fraternal armies studied in our educational institutions and have mastered Russian.

As for combat cooperation, we reckon that it will be very close. I can say, for example, that it is planned that subunits of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany will inflict a counterstrike against the "enemy" after he has driven a wedge into the Polish Army's defense zone.

Exercise Concludes

LD2203170389 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Magdeburg, G.D.R., March 22 TASS—The group of Soviet troops in Germany, the Polish Army and the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic ended a joint military exercise, "Friendship-89", on the GDR's territory Wednesday [22 March].

The exercise, which involved 16,500 troops, was held near the towns of Gardelegen, Haldensleben, Essen, Damme, Barth and Tangermuende.

According to exercise commanders, it helped troops improve their combat skills and showed the indissoluble comradeship-in-arms of the fraternal armies.

The troops which participated in the exercise are returning to places where they are permanently stationed.

Warsaw Pact Group Meets in Romania 21-22 Mar

LD2203194589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 22 mar 89

[Text] In the Romanian capital, the regular meeting of the multilateral group for the exchange of current information of mutual interest [gruppa tekushchey i vzaimnoy informatsii]—consisting of representatives of Warsaw Pact states, took place 21-22 March. An exchange of opinions and information on several current international problems of mutual interest, in particular on East-West relations and the all-European process for the settlement of regional conflicts, took place.

Conference Discusses Computers in Bloc Party Work

PM2003125389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Computers and Party Work"]

[Text] An international scientific and practical conference entitled "Problems in Using Modern Information and Computer Systems in Party Work and the Training of Party Cadres" was held at the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy in Moscow 14-16 March. Representatives from the top party educational establishments of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany (GDR)], the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], the CPSU, and the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] generalized existing experience in the computerization of party committees and defined approaches to the use of information technology for ensuring political leadership of social development and analyzing and forecasting the dynamics of social life and the functioning of public opinion in the regions.

Problems of the use of information science and computer technology for enhancing the level of training of fraternal parties' leading cadres at the present-day stage were discussed.

Gorbachev Visits to Cuba, UK Announced at Briefing
LD2303131289 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will pay an official friendly visit to Cuba on April 2-5, this year. His official visit to Britain will take place on April 5-7, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here on Thursday.

Amnesty International Delegation Arrives 22 Mar
LD2203180189 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—"It is a very positive thing that we are here," was the first remark by Ian Martin, secretary general of Amnesty International [AI], upon his arrival in Moscow today in a delegation of three AI representatives.

The delegation, also comprising Marjorie Farquarson and Jan Herman Burgers, has been invited by the Institute of State and Law at the USSR Academy of Sciences on the first visit since the organisation was founded 28 years ago.

Asked by TASS about the aim of the visit and objectives the group is going to achieve in the USSR, Martin said: "We are extremely pleased to have the opportunity to meet government officials.

"We very much want to discuss areas of international cooperation for the protection of human rights, to have the opportunity of learning more about discussions of legal changes currently under way in the Soviet Union and to raise matters that have been of concern to our organisation."

The head of the delegation pointed out that the visit became possible thanks to the perestroyka and glasnost policies pursued by the Soviet Union.

"We stated publicly on a number of occasions that we have noted many positive developments in the Soviet Union. There are still matters of concern to us, but there are also areas of cooperation that we want to explore," he said.

Replying to a question concerning the fate of Soviet prisoners held by the Afghan opposition, the head of the AI delegation replied that "prisoners of war as such are not within the mandate of our organisation. The organisation that deals with that matter is primarily the International Committee of the Red Cross.

"But the question becomes very much of concern to us if prisoners are being ill-treated in any way.

"If we had information about that kind of treatment with relation to Soviet prisoners of war, we would certainly raise the issue. So far we have not had that sort of information that would enable us to take action."

Nonetheless, Amnesty International has taken several steps to help bring about the release of prisoners, Martin said. Specifically, it made an appeal early in February as the Soviet withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan was nearing completion to all parties to protect prisoners on both sides because of great concern over possible reprisals against them.

The representatives of Amnesty International will be received at the Foreign Ministry and the Interior Ministry of the USSR, and conduct discussions at the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

They will visit a mental hospital and familiarise themselves with conditions in which convicted criminals are kept in a correctional labour colony.

Norms To Regulate Peaceful Use of Space Urged
LD2203110989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0207 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] New York, 22 Mar (TASS)—A general discussion has begun at the 28th session of the legal sub-committee of the UN committee on the peaceful uses of outer space which is being held in the headquarters of the international community. Its aim is to discuss such norms regulating space activity which would guarantee the utilization of space for exclusively peaceful ends for the benefit of all peoples and humanity.

The harnessing of space demands extraordinary exertions and the joint efforts of all states, commented Aleksandr Piradov, leader of the USSR delegation, speaking at the session. The Soviet Union has formulated the idea of creating an international space organization and the elaboration of a qualitatively new model of cooperation between states in the research and utilization of space and peaceful ends. This will make it possible to save resources and to achieve the greatest results in the shortest time. In consistently developing international space cooperation, last year alone the USSR signed bilateral agreements on cooperation in the research and utilization of space to peaceful ends with Austria, Brazil, India, Italy, and the Federal Republic of Germany. Talks are being held on the conclusion of such agreements with other countries.

The present session of the legal sub-committee is taking place in circumstances where the shoots of new political thinking are growing and qualitative changes are taking place in international relations. The prospect of establishing a regime of peaceful work in space is becoming more realistic. The USSR delegation attaches great significance to the work on the legal aspect of utilizing nuclear energy sources in space. Acting in a spirit of glasnost, the Soviet Union has expressed a willingness—

even before the elaboration and adoption of the appropriate principles—to make available information on the presence of such sources on board space apparatus immediately after their launch.

The Soviet Union has unwaveringly advocated and will continue to advocate the strengthening of law and order in space, the leader of the USSR delegation stressed. We consider that the working out of effective norms of international law requlating the activity of states in space reduces the possibility of various kinds of conflict situations arising, leads to the growth of trust, stability, and ultimately serves the cause of peace and security.

German Occupation of Lithuania Reviewed

LD2203134189 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Thursday it will be the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Nazi occupation of Klaipeda city, Lithuania, and the area around it. Hitler, encouraged by the results of the Munich conspiracy with the British and French Governments, used the method which had worked a week before in his dealings with Czechoslovakia: On March 15, 1939, the president of that republic had "voluntarily" turned it over to Germany under strong pressure. On March 22 the bourgeois Lithuanian government turned over the Klaipeda region to Germany in the same "voluntary" way.

That cloudy March day of 1939 when the jubilant Hitler came to Klaipeda on board a German naval ship was the beginning of the six-year-long occupation of that Lithuanian region.

Diplomatic history of that act of aggression shows that the British and French Governments were notified in advance about the gross pressure about to be exerted on Lithuania, but they suggested to its government that it should not take any steps that could displease Hitler. The USSR was the only country to protest against the occupation of Klaipeda. The results of Western appeasement are well known.

The spring of 1939 was not the first time Lithuania felt both German expansionism and British-French indifference. Historians point to the similarity of the developments of 1939 and those of 1918, when Germany occupied Lithuania and tried to absorb it through the proclamation of a kingdom, with a German prince on the Lithuanian throne. It was at that time that nationalists from Tariba (council) proclaimed the independence act with the blessing of the German occupation authorities.

Germany was interested in the act because it established a German protectorate over Lithuania and paved the way to the Lithuanian throne for the German prince. After the capitulation of Germany the British and French Governments decided that German troops should remain in Lithuania in order to prevent the victory of popular revolution there.

The American encyclopedia gave a very accurate description of the 1918 independence act. It said: "The proclamation of Lithuania's independence was a pure formality because it envisaged Germany's protectorate, which reduced Lithuania to a German domain."

Of course, the 1939 situation was not absolutely identical to 1918. However, all these developments show that imperialist Germany has always wanted to get hold of Lithuania and other Baltic republics, and that the governments of Western democracies have always furthered their own aims in the Baltic region.

Lithuania's tragedy of 1939 did not end with the occupation of the Klaipeda region. On September 20 the same year, after the beginning of World War II, the Lithuanian government approved a secret draft treaty under which Lithuania accepted the protectorate of the German reich. This was a natural outcome for Lithuanian nationalists who had wanted a German protectorate since 1918 and finally achieved it in 1939. It is only the restoration of Soviet power in Lithuania that put an end to the German protectorate.

United States & Canada

Reportage on Bush Speech at Cheney Swearing-In

Bush Defense Comments Noted

LD2203192989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1544 GMT 22 Mar 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Text] The head of the U.S. Administration has attended the swearing-in ceremony for Richard Cheney, the new U.S. defense secretary, at the Pentagon. I think that it was with a special feeling of satisfaction that President Bush congratulated Cheney on his taking office; after all, as you know, the previous candidate, John Tower, did not win the Senate's support. That was Bush's first serious confrontation with the legislators. But then Richard Cheney went the whole distance of Senate confirmation in record time, in just a week.

In a brief speech at the ceremony, President Bush noted that immense changes are taking place in the world and that changes in the Soviet Union are taking place at a key moment. I view them as very positive, Bush said. Favorable opportunities for improving relations with Moscow must not be missed. [video shows ceremony, Bush speaking] However, statements were then made that will probably disappoint those after arms reductions and acceleration of the disarmament process. Now is not the time for the United States and its allies to opt for unilateral reductions in armed forces and weapons or to weaken our defense efforts, President Bush said, for example. We must move forward in implementing plans for modernization of our strategic and conventional armed forces, and also continue implementation of the SDI program.

Well, it must be noted alongside this that by no means all of the U.S. allies share the White House's aspirations to increase military spending and modernize weapons. As it happens, the press in a number of NATO countries published reports today on the decisions by the Belgian and Danish governments to cut or freeze their military spending. According to London's THE GUARDIAN, this step may lead to an aggravation of relations between Western Europe and the United States, which is demanding that the NATO allies take on an increasing share of military spending. Many observers believe that the problem of military budgets will be the focus of the Brussels meeting of leaders of NATO countries in May, THE GUARDIAN writes.

Bush Insists on Policy of Strength

PM2303122589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Once Again They Are Glorifying the 'Policy of Strength'"]

[Text] Washington, 22 Mar—Richard Cheney, former member of the House of Representatives, whom the Senate confirmed last week in the post of U.S. defense secretary, has officially taken up his post. President George Bush and Congressional leaders were present during his swearing-in at the Pentagon building.

Having congratulated Cheney, President Bush stated that the new defense secretary "shares our conviction that the main lesson in the national security sphere based on the experience of the last decade is simple: Strength ensures peace." While acknowledging the United States' difficulties in connection with the chronic federal budget deficit, at the same time the head of the White House confirmed his intention to get the Congress to cut the present level of U.S. military spending in fiscal 1990 and increase it in the following 2 years by 1 percent and then 2 percent in real terms. [sentence as published]

Noting that enormous changes are taking place in the modern world, Bush stressed that "the changes in the Soviet Union, which I regard extremely positively, are a key element." "We must not miss good opportunities to improve relations with the Soviet Union," the President said, "but at the same time we must be ready and able to act whenever our national interests are at stake." Bush also stated the following: "Allow me to say clearly that now is not the time for the United States and its allies to embark on unilateral reductions in armed forces and arms and weaken our defense efforts." "We must," he continued, "progress in implementing the plans to modernize our strategic and conventional armed forces" and continue to implement the "Star Wars" program. This statement by Bush was clearly an unequivocal response to the growing demands within the United States and Western Europe for him to effectively help develop the process of relaxing tension in the world and—without waiting for the outcome of the Vienna talks—follow the example of the Soviet Union, which has announced a unilateral reduction in its armed forces and arms rather than modernizing and stockpiling arms.

Cheney, who is well known from his activity in the Congress as an extremely conservative politician and a supporter of a "strong America," also noted the "significant changes that may lead to a more peaceful and prosperous world." He said "there are people who believe the 'cold war' is over." However, in Cheney's opinion, the United States should above all "not relax its vigilance" or its "defense efforts" and should "show caution."

Bush Statements 'Contradictory'

LD2203191789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Igor Charikov commentary; program presented by Moscow Radio commentator Aleksandr Korshunov]

[Text] [Korshunov] U.S. President George Bush, speaking on Tuesday at the ceremony marking the entry of the new defense secretary into his post, spoke in favor of improving relations with the USSR. According to news agencies, at the same time the President said the United

States should remain ready and capable of ensuring its national interests in any event. Bush said that now is not the time for the United States and its allies to effect unilateral reductions and weaken their efforts in the defense sphere. Here is a "latest news" commentary. At the microphone is my colleague Igor Charikov:

[Charikov] As you can see, President Bush's statements are extremely self-contradictory. On the one hand he recognizes the process of changes taking place in the world and considers that favorable opportunities for improving Soviet-U.S. relations should not be missed. But on the other hand he pays tribute to the obsolete thinking of past years. Peace is ensured by strength; that is the President's approach to resolving global world problems.

Of course, the President's speech does not produce feelings of joy or optimism, but let us be realists—he delivered this speech in the Pentagon building and, what is more, on the occasion of the swearing-in of the new defense secretary. I think that taking account of this circumstance and also the still current habit of U.S. politicians to divide things up into black and white in their speeches, one should not particularly overestimate everything that George Bush said.

During the election campaign he did not conceal the fact that the same principles as before would form the basis of his foreign policy. This means that in resolving major world problems and settling bilateral issues, the reliance will be on strength. Of course, for the administration and U.S. public opinion, the USSR's decision to reduce its armed forces and defense spending during the 1989-1990 period has not passed unnoticed. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on these reductions was published, by the way, on the same day that President Bush was delivering his speech in the Pentagon.

In a certain section of U.S. society, including in Congress, voices are increasingly being heard urging the United States to take measures in response. But, judging from the President's words, such measures are still not planned.

The U.S. federal budget has long been suffering from vast expenditures on military needs. The U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT weekly states with evident disappointment that in the next year or 2 the Pentagon will receive at most an increase of 1 or 2 percent in its budget. Observers consider that in this event the United States will make a routine effort to transfer a greater proportion of military spending onto its West European allies, which are far from enraptured by such prospects.

At the start of April a special report is to be published in which experts will set out their views on the main U.S. strategic concepts. Judging from everything, this report will become the fundamental basis for the adoption of White House foreign policy decisions. The assurances of love and strivings for universal peace and security that are heard in the speeches of U.S. politicians and statesmen will sound convincing only when they take on a real and specific form.

Expelled Attache Discusses FBI 'Provocation'
PM2303095389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Pakhtusov, former assistant military attache at the USSR Embassy to the United States, by correspondent Captain 2d Rank V. Kocherov: " 'Yes, It Was a Provocation,' Lt Col Yu. Pakhtusov Confirms"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Our correspondent talked to Lt Col Yu. Pakhtusov, former assistant military attache at the USSR Embassy to the United States, who, as newspapers reported, was ordered by the U.S. State Department to leave the country for "activities incompatible with his diplomatic status."

[Kocherov] Yuriy Nikolayevich, as I understand it this was your first foreign posting as a military diplomat. How, in fact, did you become a soldier, and a military diplomat in particular?

[Pakhtusov] My route into military-diplomatic work is a typical one for many people. From childhood I dreamed of being a soldier. The influence of my father, who was a frontline soldier, life in different military garrisons, the romance of military service, and the possibility of testing my mettle in real action probably had an impact.

I graduated from Kalinin's Suvorov School and then Leningrad's Higher Combined Arms Command School and served in troop units, including in the north. From the post of battalion commander I entered the M.V. Frunze Military Academy. Then I spent a few years in staff work. Obviously, in view of my service experience and also some knowledge of English (I studied English at a special school and at the Suvorov School) I was asked to transfer to military-diplomatic work. I greeted this offer with interest and embarked with great enthusiasm on work as an assistant military attache at the USSR Embassy to the United States.

[Kocherov] Judging by newspaper reports, you were the target of quite a crude provocation. Why, in your opinion, did the FBI carry out this provocation at a time when preconditions are emerging in the world, notably in USSR-U.S. relations, for implementation of the principles of the new political thinking?

[Pakhtusov] I agree with you that we are making considerable efforts to introduce the new political thinking into international practice and implement the defensive character of Soviet military doctrine. As a USSR citizen in the United States, I witnessed the great success of our country's peace initiatives among U.S. citizens. Virtually

all Americans, including the servicemen I met, had a very respectful attitude toward Soviet people, restructuring in the USSR, its domestic and foreign policies, and the troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. In general I would like to say that I also came to the United States with a friendly attitude toward the American people.

This was also manifested, in particular, in the fact that I established normal good-neighborly relations with many of the American and foreign citizens living in my apartment block, as we are accustomed to doing back home.

One such acquaintance was the U.S. citizen Dvin Kreg [name as transliterated]. We saw one another several times and had general discussions on history and life in the USSR and the United States. So it was no surprise to me when he asked me to drop by his home, since he said he knew the reason for my television's wobbly picture, a problem I had once mentioned to him.

Why was this visit used for a provocation? I don't have a simple answer for this even after everything that has happened. In my opinion, this provocation was a warning to those U.S. citizens who are today increasingly trying to discern a friendly face in the customary "enemy image" and seeking rapprochement with the Soviet Union. Some people in the United States do not like the fact that "people's diplomacy" is gaining increasing momentum. Obviously, according to FBI logic, a Soviet person is to be feared even when he is a guest in your apartment.

[Kocherov] Yuriy Nikolayevich, another question. What methods did the FBI use in the provocation against you?

[Pakhtusov] If you're talking about their procedure, it was this. I went up to see my neighbor (he lived on the next floor) and went into his apartment. I didn't notice anything strange in his behavior or in the atmosphere in the apartment. Kreg bent down to a desk drawer and took out a small yellow package. He held it out to me saying: "This is for you." This was a surprise to me. I heard a key turn in the lock of the front door, the door creaked, and then 5-7 men burst into the apartment shouting "FBI!"

Two flung themselves on the owner of the apartment, twisted his arms behind him, handcuffed him, and took him away somewhere. I didn't see him again. I immediately identified myself, protested firmly, and demanded that they call embassy representatives, but this did not stop the FBI men. Three or four jumped on me, handcuffed me, and sat me down, and carried out an ostentatious search of the apartment, overturning furniture and scattering books, chairs, and bed linen. At the same time, the FBI men holding me loudly shouted advice to their colleagues as to what to look for and showed me their ID several times.

This rampage lasted 6-7 minutes. Afterwards I was bundled into an automobile and told I was being taken to the FBI to have my identity checked on. I was not allowed to go to my apartment for identity papers, to take any outerwear (it was freezing outside), or to warn my wife.

En route and later at the FBI itself I was asked several times to betray the motherland and stay in the United States or go to any other country, where they said a "heavenly life" awaited me. I responded to all this with a resolute refusal, protested, and demanded that Soviet Embassy representatives be summoned. Ultimately the FBI agents were forced to comply.

In general, I had the feeling that I was in Washington during the worst period of rabid anti-Soviet hysteria, rather than in March 1989.

[Kocherov] Yuriy Nikolayevich, what happened to the yellow package?

[Pakhtusov] The most interesting thing is that I don't even know what was in it. I didn't pick up the package, nor was it opened, and the contents weren't shown to me, or the witnesses at the search, or to Soviet Embassy representatives when they arrived at the FBI.

[Kocherov] Has everything that has happened affected your attitude toward Americans?

[Pakhtusov] No. I still have good memories of the country and the people with whom I came into contact.

Bessmertnykh Receives U.S. Ambassador 22 Mar

LD2203191889 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, on Wednesday met U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Jack Matlock to exchange views on ways of further developing Soviet-U.S. dialogue and to discuss urgent regional problems.

Soviet-Canadian Political Consultations Held

PM2203161789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Soviet-Canadian Consultations"]

[Text] Soviet-Canadian political consultations were held at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs 16-17 March, in the course of which questions of the strengthening of international security, disarmament, settlement of regional conflicts, and ecology were discussed, as well as topical questions pertaining to the activities of the United Nations and the Security Council in particular. The shared opinion of the importance of cooperation in

the cause of the all-around enhancement of the effectiveness of the United Nations and the strengthening of its peacemaking potential was expressed.

A meeting took place between V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and C. Westdal, director general of the Canadian Foreign Ministry International Organizations Administration.

Northeast Asia

Foreign Ministry Talks in Tokyo 'Make Headway'

LD2303093989 Moscow TASS in English 0802 GMT 23 Mar 89

["Japanese-Soviet Treaty Talks Make Headway"—TASS headline]

[Text] Tokyo March 23 TASS—Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno said on Thursday that the beginning of activities of the standing working group on a peace treaty between the USSR and Japan is, in his opinion, "a step forward in Japanese-Soviet relations".

Answering questions from deputies in the Cabinet Affairs' Commission in parliament's lower chamber on Thursday, he stressed he would persistently work to promote the success of the negotiations.

In the course of the working group's meeting on Tuesday, the Soviet side elucidated its peace treaty concept.

The Japanese foreign minister favoured Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan. According to the KYODO Tsushin News Agency, Uno intends to discuss this question with the Soviet side in the course of his visit to the Soviet Union in April-May. The Japanese minister believes that the so called territorial issue should be discussed at the Japanese-Soviet summit meeting.

Japan's N. Territories Claim Legally Unsound

OW2203085089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 17 Mar 89

["Part one" of article published in PRAVDA by PRAVDA Tokyo correspondent Latyshev on the territorial issue in Soviet-Japanese relations]

[Text] Listeners, the Soviet newspaper PRAVDA has published an article by its Tokyo correspondent Latyshev on the territorial issue existing in Soviet-Japanese relations. In this connection, we will broadcast this article in two parts, today and tomorrow. Correspondent Latyshev writes as follows:

Over the past few months, significant steps have been taken toward the development of the dialogue between Japan and the USSR. The foreign ministers of our two countries met in Tokyo in December, 1988. The talks, which were held in a far warmer atmosphere than before, resulted in a series of important accords.

For example, it was agreed that a permanent working group at the vice foreign minister level should be established to further promote the negotiations on the conclusion of a peace treaty conducted between the two countries. Such a development has aroused interest in various issues concerning Japan's relations with the Soviet Union among Japan's state activists, politicians, and journalists. This interest has been shown by more positive moves from the people who support efforts to strengthen good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. However, to our regret, the interest has also been manifested in an intensified attempt to create obstacles to the early conclusion of a peace treaty and to create among the Japanese people bad feelings against the Soviet Union.

What has always been brought up to instigate anti-Soviet feelings among the Japanese people is the territorial demand on the Soviet Union. In making this demand, those who oppose good-neighborly relations between the two countries have intentionally created obstacles to the development of Sino-Japanese relations. The campaign, which is named by its organizers as "The Movement To Demand the Return of the Northern Territories," also aims to achieve the above-mentioned objective. In carrying out this campaign, the meaning of the Northern Territories has been intentionally obscured because the campaign organizers have interpreted the term in several ways. While some people have in mind the four southern islands of the Kurils, others have the entire Kurils in mind. There are also people who hold that Sakhlin should be included in the Northern Territories.

What is the basis for the Japanese demand for a review of the USSR-Japan boundary? First of all, history has been quoted. However, the quotation is aimed at those who are not very familiar with concrete historical facts. For example, the Kuril Islands have been frequently described as if they were Japan's inherent territories. In so doing, they have ignored the fact that the Kuril Islands were discoverd by Russian explorers in the 17th Century and explored by the Russians in the 18th century, that the islands were not only described in geographical terms but were also developed for economic purposes, and that the Ainu, the native inhabitants, became naturalized Russians of their own free will in the mid-18th Century. Later on, the Japanese feudal government sent its officials as well as troops to the Kuril Islands and removed the signs indicating the Russian borderline. This took place at a time much later, not until the end of the 18th Century.

As a legal foundation to justify the demand for the Kuril Islands, the organizers of the movement to demand the return of the Northern Territories have normally quoted the Russo-Japanese treaties signed in 1855 and 1875.

These treaties were signed by Russia's Czarist government under the circumstances in which the Soviet Far East borders were threatened by the British and French fleets, which had naval supremacy in the Pacific. The Czarist government was in a difficult position at that time as it was not possible for the Czarist government to defend the Kuril Islands, and the Japanese Government took advantage of this situation.

As Russian diplomats did not have adequate foresight and failed to take a firm position, Russia was forced to subjugate itself to Japanese pressure and give away the southern islands of the Kuril Islands to Japan in its first treaty signed in 1855, and then the northern part of the Kuril Islands in the treaty signed in 1875. However, what should not be forgotten in this case is that the articles concerning Sakhalin Island in these two treaties constituted a very important part. Because Japan had admitted Russia's presence on Sakhalin in the 1855 treaty, Russia's refusal to submit to Japan's demand for Sakhalin and the question concerning Russia's title to the island were settled in the 1875 treaty.

In demanding the return of the Kuril Islands today, those who maintain that the postwar borders be reviewed have positively declared the transfer of the Kuril Islands to the Soviet Union to be a violation of the two treaties mentioned above. However, while making this demand, they have remained silent about an extremely important event that indicates that this accusation is utterly illegitimate. The fact is these two treaties were arbitrarily trampled on and abrogated by Japan itself. Following its victory over Russia in the war that started in 1904 [words indistinct], Japan forced Russia to sign the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905. In accordance with this treaty, the foundation for Russo-Japanese relations based on the treaties concluded between the countries during the previous years was annulled. Japan's rejection of the treaties signed previously is clearly stated in Article 9 of the Treaty of Portsmouth and in its annexed document No 10. It was Japanese troops that had started and won the war and, as a result, Russia handed over southern Sakhalin to Japan in violation of the two previous treaties.

Under such circumstances, is it appropriate for Japanese politicians or diplomats to denounce the Soviet Union today for not observing the treaties that Japan itself has trampled underfoot, and for Japanese politicians or diplomats to quote these treaties? Of course, it is not appropriate. However, those who have organized the movement to demand the return of the Northern Territories are not at all embarrassed by such an absurdity that is not only legally but also logically unreasonable.

Takeshita Stresses Building Japan's Military

PM2203090589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "N. Takeshita: Increase Military Potential"]

[Text] Tokyo, 20 Mar—Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita has stated the need to build Japan's own military potential as well as further reinforce the Japanese-American military alliance on the basis of the "security treaty." "We must ensure the defense of our country by our own efforts," he said yesterday in a speech to graduates of the Japan Defense Agency Academy in Yokosuka, according to KYODO.

Assessing the international situation from a military-strategic viewpoint, Takeshita noted that, despite the huge successes achieved by the United States and the Soviet Union in the disarmament sphere, "the main factor in ensuring peace and security on our planet is still the maintenance of parity of arms between East and West, primarily between the Soviet Union and the United States."

Takeshita also pointed out that Japan's international responsibility is growing together with its increased activity in the world arena. Addressing the military academy graduates, the prime minister stressed the need to turn Japan into a country capable of "contributing to the world community."

Soviet Troop Withdrawal From Mongolia Viewed

OW2303043189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 16 Mar 89

[(Klesnov) commentary from "Hello, China" program]

[Text] Dear friends, you may have known from our news that it was announced in Moscow on Wednesday that the Soviet Union will withdraw three divisions, including two tank divisions and two Air Force divisions [as heard], as well as all other units from Mongolia in the coming 2 years, according to an agreement between the Soviet and Mongolian governments. The agreement calls for the Soviet Union to withdraw a tank division and all other units from Mongolia from May to August this year. In relation to this, please listen to the following short commentary written by (Klesnov), a commentator of this station:

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia began in 1987, when a motorized infantry division temporarily assigned to Mongolia and other units were withdrawn. It was later announced that the Soviet Union had decided to withdraw 75 percent of its troops and military equipment from Mongolia in the near future.

The Soviet troops were stationed in Mongolia in the 1960's at the request of the Mongolian Government, which maintained, with good reason, that it had to adopt whatever auxiliary measures were necessary to increase security along its national border. I would like to stress the fact that only the Mongolian Government has authority over the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and thereby presented a relevant request to the Soviet Union. In a word, it is an issue within the limits of the authority of Mongolia and the Soviet Union.

Soviet leader Gorbachev announced early this year that troops stationed in Soviet eastern territories would be reduced by 200,000 in the next 2 years. During the same period, the Soviet Union is prepared to reduce its Armed Forces by half a million, and its military spending by 14.2 percent.

The Mongolian side announced last month that the Mongolian Armed Forces would be reduced by 13,000 from 1989 to 1990. During this period, the Mongolian Armed Forces will be reduced by 18 fighter aircraft, 1,000 military vehicles, 60 tanks, and 30 armored personnel carriers. By 1990, Mongolia's defense spending will decrease 11 percent.

The new international situation, including that in the Asia-Pacific region, has enabled the two fraternal countries to adopt the above measures. Here I would like to first mention the continuing process of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. When visiting China last month, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze discussed with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen the issue of security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, as well as other important issues. The two ministers were satisfied with an ever stronger tendency to relax military confrontation in the region. We all know that China reduced its Armed Forces by 1 million 2 years ago. We must also mention a tendency toward Sino-Vietnamese dialogue that has appeared in recent months, as well as various efforts aimed at settling the Cambodian conflict. Besides, there have been new developments in relations between China and Mongolia. The reduction of Mongolia-based Soviet troops and the Mongolian Armed Forces will no doubt make concrete contributions to socialist nations' joint efforts to maintain peace and ease the international situation.

South Korean Warships Intrude on DPRK Waters

LD2303080889 Moscow TASS in English 0806 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Pyongyang March 23 TASS—Two South Korean combatant ships intruded in the DPRK'S territorial waters in the Yellow Sea off the Tungsan-Got Cape early morning on Thursday, the CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY of KOREA reported. It said the intrusion was "a deliberate provocation" against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

USSR, DPRK Premiers Exchange Greetings

PM2003115189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR and the DPRK have exchanged congratulatory telegrams on the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Economic and Cultural Cooperation Agreement.

This first-ever document in Soviet-Korean relations, founded on complete equality between the sides, the USSR Council of Ministers telegram to Yon Hyong-muk, premier of the DPRK Administration Council, states, laid a firm foundation for extensive cooperation in the economic, cultural, and other spheres. [The Northeast Asia section of the 17 March issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT carries on page 11 a similar TASS International Service in Russian report on the exchange of greetings between the Soviet and DPRK premiers which incorrectly identifies the DPRK premier as Yi Kun-mo. Yi was recently replaced by Yon Hyong-muk.] This cooperation is today being fruitfully developed in the interests of socialist building in the two countries. The hope was expressed that the DPRK's working people will achieve new successes in fulfilling the extensive program outlined by the Sixth Workers Party of Korea Congress for the republic's socioeconomic development and in the struggle for Korean unification on a peaceful and democratic basis.

Yon Hyong-muk's congratulatory telegram to N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, notes the close cooperation between the two countries over the last 40 years in the spheres of the economy, culture, science, and technology, and expresses the confidence that friendship and cooperation between the Korean and Soviet peoples will be further developed and deepened in the spirit of the accords reached at the October 1986 Korean-Soviet summit. The premier of the DPRK Administration Council wished the friendly Soviet people successes in carrying out the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference, and in their efforts aimed at ensuring world peace.

DPRK's Kim Chong-il Birthday Festival Noted

PM2003170789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 p 3

[Correspondent A. Platkovskiy "Letter from Pyongyang": "Leader—Son of Leader"]

[Text] There is a resonant silence in the school corridors. A light burns late into the evening in one of the classrooms. Six heads are inclined over a large piece of canvas stretched over a frame the size of a table-tennis table. Short, jet-black hair falls over children's cheeks. The girls are about 13 years old. A stitch, another stitch. The silken thread spreads in smooth half-tints. Only the needles gleam in slender hands. The embroiderers do not straighten their backs: The work must be finished in time for the festival. It is complex embroidery demanding great skill: A little house resembling a hunting cabin stands lost among pines and firs at the foot of a granite cliff. A blizzard has caused drifts to form on its roof.

This little house is familiar to all Korean children.

"This was in a secret partisan camp in the Paektu Mountains in the north of our country," the teacher's voice resounds solemnly. "Our dear leader was born in a modest log house 16 February 1942. And then a star rose over Korea to proclaim the coming of our people's bright future."

The girls of Moran-Bong Full Secondary School in Pyongyang City prepared their gift in time. They called their embroidery "Paektu Star."

February is a portentous month in the DPRK. The birthday of Kim Chong-il is celebrated there as a great national festival. The people call him simply "the dear leader," "the beloved comrade." His portrait hangs in a prominent place in Koreans' homes next to the portrait of DPRK President Kim Il-song. Kim Chong-il is the son of "the great leader." His official successor.

Flowers are planted in Pyongyang streets the night before the festival. The weather is still bitterly cold, with frost. Therefore, the flower beds are carefully kept warm either beneath plastic sheeting or by being covered with straw. And in the morning they are uncovered before the enthusiastic gazes of passersby.

An endless stream of people heads for the Central Botanic Garden. Entire Pyongyang families come here to see the "Kim Chong-ilia"—the "Kim Chong-il flower." These plants of the begonia family are set out in pots in a specially arranged orangery equipped with electronic technology. Selection work was carried out for approximately 20 years until a purple flower, which reaches a diameter of 25 cm, appeared.

The institution of the leader's successor is a unique phenomenon in the DPRK state system. Its creation is recognized here as "an important contribution to the theory and practice of socialism." I will speak of this in greater detail. The brochure "True Appearance of the New Leader," which is sold in Pyongyang bookstores, states that the problem of the leader's successor has long existed in the revolutionary movement, ever since the times of Marx, and that lack of succession in a country's leadership creates difficulties in the process of building socialism. This problem has been resolved in the DPRK, the brochure asserts. These are the criteria for choosing a successor: selfless devotion to the leader, perfect mastery of his ideas and leadership methods, lofty moral qualities, and the boundless confidence of the people's masses. The successor's length of service or whether he is related to the leader are of no significance here. It is also important to create a new leadership system that enables the successor to take all affairs under his control while the leader is still alive and to exercise unified leadership of the party, society, and the Army.

After studying at the Kim Il-song University, Kim Chong-il worked on the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee. At the Sixth WPK Congress in 1980 he was elected member of the Central Committee Politburo Presidium, secretary of the Central Committee, and member of the Central Committee Military Committee. The sphere of Kim Chong-il's leadership activity is extensive. In the economy he formulated and introduced the principle of "high-speed action"—mobilizing labor and production resources and concentrating them in priority sectors. The record rates necessary for an economic upsurge are thereby achieved. This method is now being used for large-scale housing construction, including 260 festival projects.

Incidentally, it is worth a special note that all preparations for the 13th World Youth Festival are being conducted under the constant watch of Kim Chong-il. Young people from cities and rural areas and military servicemen are working in the "high-speed action detachments."

All of the country's working people are taking part in an extensive campaign under the title "200-Day Action Campaign." This is the second such campaign so far, and its aim is to ensure that the high targets of the Third 7-Year Plan are met. It is planned to introduce a "2,000-day action campaign" and a "20,000-day action campaign" in the future.

Kim Chong-il's leadership also extends to art, literature, and cinematography. These are areas of longstanding, constant interest for him. The creative intelligentsia is also armed with the method of "high-speed action": Talented works must be produced in record time. An example is set by the "dear leader." In the space of just over 2 years, the operas "Sea of Blood," "Loyal Daughter of the Party," "Flower Girl," "Tell Us a Story, Taiga!," "Song of the Mountains of Kumgang," and others have been performed at the capital's theater under his direct leadership.

The style of leadership preferred by Kim Chong-il is known as "the implementation of leadership at grassroots level." Here is how his working day is described in one of the brochures. During his lunch break Kim Chong-il goes to the stadium, where he watches rehearsals of mass gymnastic displays by young sportsmen. Then he travels to Pyongyang Department Store No. 2 to inspect the population's supply of goods. Then his car can be seen at construction sites on Changvan [name as transliterated] Street. On returning to his office, he devotes the rest of the day to solving problems that have built up during the day. At midnight he goes into the city again—to watch the rehearsal of a demonstration by the people of Pyongyang. From there he goes to the construction site of the Palace of People's Instruction. At dawn, he drives around the city and gives instructions as to the facilities that should be provided.

Young Koreans are brought up on examples like these during the process of "learning from the dear leader."

Kim Chong-il is recognized as a leading party theorist and ideologue. He has written a number of works, which develop the idea of "chuche" ("chu" means "master" in Korean and "che" means "body"; so, literally it means "master of one's body"). The ideas of "chuche" are the leading ideology of society. They substantiate the principle of relying on one's own resources in internal affairs, independence and sovereignty in foreign policy, and independence in defense issues. The cornerstone of the ideas is the concept of the popular masses united around their leader. They are the main motive force in history—a force that revolutionizes society and nature at will. The ideas of "chuche" are said to be a creative development of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which have been reworked on the basis of Korean realities.

Possibly the most distinctive feature of social life in the DPRK is the intensive ideological work in which all age groups and social groups are involved. The promotion of slogans and directives and the organization of ideological campaigns are an area to which Kim Chong-il devotes unremitting attention.

What are the principles by which young people in the DPRK now live? "Everyone must live and struggle like heroes!" This motto is heard at meetings, political rallies, and in all organizations of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea. The aim of this movement is to achieve a breakthrough on the construction front and successfully complete the preparations for the 13th World Youth Festival. As the festival draws nearer, patriotic work among young people intensifies. "Our nation is the best," "We envy no one in the world," "We live in our own way"—experienced propaganda workers explain the meaning of these slogans to young people.

In the evenings, a ruby flame burns over Pyongyang, erected on top of a monument in honor of the ideas of "chuche." The dimensions of the monument—it is 170 meters high—its architectural design, and its location were all chosen to strictly comply with Kim Chong-il's instructions. There is an elevator inside the monument. Going up in the elevator, I listened to a young woman who was a tour guide. When the monument was being built, she said, peasants from the villages and people living in the city swept and washed the roads along which the stone blocks weighing more than 200 tonnes were transported to the building site. No speck of dust was allowed to fall on them. And working people brought water here from the country's northern regions, from Lake Chong. Their wish was that the cement that was to bind together the stones of the monument for eternity be mixed with the pure, glacial waters from the mountains of Paektu.

Near East & South Asia

Varennikov Says Advisors Outside Kabul Recalled

LD2303144389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 23 Mar 89

[From the NOVOYE VREMYA review]

[Text] Readers will most probably pay attention to the great deal of analytical material connected with the development of the situation in Afghanistan. Army General Varennikov, commander-in-chief of the Ground Forces and deputy defense minister of the USSR, shares his thoughts on the pages of the magazine. Over a period of 4 years, right up until 15 February of this year, he was head of the operational group of the USSR Defense Ministry in Afghanistan. Commenting on the various types of fabrications being spread in the West concerning the Afghan problem, General Varennikov stressed that the disseminators of these fabrications are attempting to distract the attention of the world public from the flagrant violations of the Geneva agreements being committed, primarily by Pakistan.

Answering questions from the correspondent of the magazine NOVOYE VREMYA, the general said that at the present time there is a small group of advisers from the Ministry of Defense in Afghanistan. There are only a few of them, no more than 30. The advisers do not travel and do not have any military forces at their disposal. In order to do away with all the various claims, Valentin Ivanovich Varennikov said, by agreement with the Afghan Government, that we have decided to recall all the advisory personnel from among Afghan troops who are beyond the bounds of Kabul. Describing the activity of the opponents of the regime who sometimes manage to seize one populated point or another, the general noted that these are the usual moves in military actions when individual points or positions change from one hand to the other.

Varennikov Interviewed on USSR Role in Afghanistan

PM2303112189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Army General V.I. Varennikov, USSR deputy defense minister and commander-in-chief of the USSR Armed Forces Ground Forces, by APN correspondent A. Trubin: "Afghanistan and After"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] Army General V.I. Varennikov, USSR deputy defense minister and commander-in-chief of the USSR Armed Forces Ground Forces, answered an APN correspondent's questions.

[Trubin] Valentin Ivanovich, what were the tasks assigned to Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and were these tasks accomplished?

[Varennikov] The Soviet troops were assigned the task of rendering assistance to the people's power in protecting Afghanistan from aggressive actions by opposition gangs and thus stabilizing the situation. Furthermore, it was incumbent upon us to train modern Afghan armed forces capable of independently resolving all tasks concerning the country's defense.

[Trubin] Did the Soviet troops conduct major independent combat operations?

[Varennikov] The Soviet troops did not conduct major independent combat operations, nor was there any need for them to do so. When it came to eliminating large and especially dangerous gangs, the operations were conducted jointly. Moreover, the Soviet troops were for all intents and purposes supporting Afghan units, which "cleared" villages and "green zones" independently.

Meanwhile, our troops did conduct independent combat actions whenever gang formations attacked our outposts or freight convoys. In addition to this, combat actions were also conducted in areas where gangs concentrated weapons and ammunition but where there were no population centers, along the mountain and desert sections of routes used by opposition caravans carrying military materiel.

[Trubin] How close was the collaboration between Soviet troops and Afghan government troops?

[Varennikov] The collaboration between Soviet troops and Afghan Government troops was constant and close throughout our contingent's stay in Afghanistan. Identical goals in joint operations made it possible to assign specific tasks to Soviet and Afghan military units in terms of time and place of fulfillment. But even in cases when we acted independently, there was always overall collaboration. For example, both Soviet and Afghan troops were always prepared to move to any area to render the necessary assistance to any military unit in need of it. Moreover, we always had reliable communications, there was virtually no language barrier, and this created favorable conditions for collaboration.

[Trubin] Is it legitimate to draw a parallel between the Soviet troops in Afghanistan and the U.S. expeditionary army in Vietnam?

[Varennikov] In our view, even the asking of this question is, if you would excuse me, astonishing. There can be no parallel at all between Soviet troops in Afghanistan and U.S. troops in Vietnam in terms of either the objectives pursued by being there, or the tasks carried out by the troops, or their methods of action, or the outcome of their stay. Quite the contrary, the two are diametrically opposed.

The Americans set themselves the goal of bringing the Vietnamese people to their knees and subjugating them, and consequently carried out corresponding tasks well-known all over the world, using the savage "scorched earth" method that has been condemned by the world public.

On the other hand, Soviet troops entered Afghanistan legitimately, at the request of the republic's government, which, for its part, relied on treaty obligations existing between our countries. Moreover, the Soviet troops acted jointly with government organs, preventing the country from being infiltrated by gangs armed by the United States. In other words, we fought against aggressive actions, for Afghanistan's integrity, and for the stabilization of the situation in this land.

The whole world knows the way the U.S. troops pulled out of Vietnam. I would not like to bring those images to mind today. Meanwhile, the whole world saw how Soviet troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan. Everything was done according to a schedule in line with the Geneva agreements. It is important to note that over the last few years Soviet troops played a most active role in the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation. Everything we built and all the stocks that were built up were handed over to the Afghan people on our withdrawal from Afghanistan.

In this context, there is a self-evident answer to the question of whether the withdrawal of Soviet troops could be interpreted as a defeat, as some Western propaganda organs claim. What is even more important in this presentation of the question is perception of its orientation. Victory and defeat? Who set himself the goal of defeating anyone? After all, this task was altogether out of the question. Our internationalist soldiers were invited to the country, honorably performed their duty, rendered the necessary assistance, and returned to the motherland with dignity and in accordance with the Soviet-Afghan accord and the Geneva agreements. Moreover, there were no combat losses of personnel or equipment at any stage of the withdrawal. This alone shows that there are no legitimate grounds for asking a question about defeat.

[Trubin] The armed opposition actively exploited the civilian population as camouflage. To what extent did these tactics restrict the combat potential and firepower of Soviet troops?

[Varennikov] You are correct in mentioning the perfidious methods used by the armed opposition to attain its goals, including the objectives of its combat actions. But the whole point is that our troops participated in joint combat actions with Afghan Government troops only in the outside strips (blocks) of areas with population centers (in other words a population); they did not enter the villages and did not fire at them. Villages were neutralized by government military units. Therefore, when talking about the methods applied by the armed opposition, one could note that this did have a certain effect on our friends' actions. In practical terms this meant that combat actions got bogged down and it took a long time to separate the armed gangs from the civilian population.

[Trubin] How can one evaluate the accusations, which appeared in the West on the eve of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, that Soviet troops were applying "scorched earth" tactics?

[Varennikov] This can be unambiguously evaluated as a desire to trace signs of the Vietnam syndrome in the Soviet troops' actions. As we have already seen for ourselves, this was to no avail. And if there are still any people keen to associate the actions of Soviet troops in Afghanistan with "scorched earth" tactics, then they ought to know the following. First, nowhere in Afghanistan will they come across regions like those in Vietnam—literally burned to the ground. There are, indeed, destroyed villages. In fact many of them were destroyed not only as the result of combat but also because the inhabitants fell for the opposition's false propaganda and abandoned them. Of course, any house without a master will become dilapidated with the passage of time. There are some provincial centers that suffered damage as a result of combat, shelling, sabotage, and so on. Let me give two examples.

Qandahar. The armed opposition shelled the city for many years in succession, organized numerous explosions in large buildings, and engaged in fighting. Consequently, Qandahar's western section, and its southern section in particular, are destroyed. The situation is now returning to normal.

Konduz. Last August, following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from this city, the armed opposition managed to temporarily capture Konduz due to the garrison's poor vigilance. Over a period of 5 days, while the necessary forces were being gathered to remedy the situation, opposition gangs looted and burned all stores, ruined numerous workshops, state institutions, and private homes, and even destroyed mosques.

Second, in 1987-1989 Soviet military units played a most active part in implementation of the national reconciliation policy proclaimed in the country. This took the form not only, and perhaps not so much, of work to explain the essence of this policy, but more of practical assistance to the population in the restoration and construction of plants, homes, roads, bridges, power stations, and powerlines, and water extraction, field cultivation, and delivery of sundry freight. All medical facilities of Soviet military units were open and made most widely available to the Afghan population: inpatient treatment, out-patient services, and medical team visits to outlying villages.

Third, on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, 183 installations built on Afghan soil were handed over to the people. They included hospitals, workshops, storage facilities, airfields, and military camps that can also be used for other than military purposes. The total value of these installations was about R400 billion.

Fourth, this is not the full extent of our assistance. It has been going on for over 60 years, and it still goes on today.

Exchange of POW's in Aghanistan Denied

LD2303082989 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] The Soviet ministries of defense and foreign affairs have refuted a report in THE WASHINGTON POST concerning Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan. As the American paper claims, an exchange of prisoners, the largest in the history of the war in Afghanistan, has been held in one of the (?points) of Afghan territory over the past 2 weeks.

According to THE WASHINGTON POST, about 70 Soviet servicemen captured by the mujahadin have been exchanged. Spokesmen of Soviet competent bodies refuted the report as failing to correspond to reality.

At present, 311 Soviet servicemen are listed missing in Afghanistan. Many of them are probably being held prisoner and everything is being done for their retrun home.

Opposition Launches 'Major Onslaught' on Jalalabad

LD2203193189 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 22 TASS—Units of the irreconcilable opposition have launched a major onslaught on Jalalabad in the past twenty four hours. The rebel attacks were accompanied by intensive shelling of city's residential quarters and security posts around it. Ten civilians and a serviceman of the Afghan Army were wounded and a supply depot burned down. The onslaught was stopped by strong retaliatory attacks which forced the "opposition diehards" to retreat, who lost more than 230 killed, including four Saudi and seven Pakistani instructors, and 53 wounded. Government troops put out of action two rocket launchers, two long-range guns, destroyed three arms and ammunition depots, four military trucks and 11 enemy strongholds.

The armed opposition groups subjected to intensive shelling the city of Konduz in the past twenty four hours. Three residents and one serviceman of the Afghan Army were killed, many people wounded.

A 20-man strong rebel detachment, operating on the Kabul-Hayratan road, went over to the side of the government and joined the army units defending this important highway. Another 20 former enemies of people's power signed an agreement on ending combat operations in Shirin Tagab District. Their example was followed by an opposition group in Sar-e Pol District.

The Kabul-Hayratan road remains open for traffic. On Tuesday 300 trucks arrived in the capital bringing food supplies and basic commodities.

The BAKHTAR News Agency reported a bloody incident in the area of Ghaziabad farm in Nangarhar Province on March 15, which testifies to brutality that reigns

in the camp of mujahidin and their foreign accomplices. On orders from Saudi Arabian instructors, 25 rebels were killed after being wounded during the onslaught on Jalalabad. One of the ringleaders of the anti-government unit, a certain Haji Sharif [name as received] shot dead three instructors from Saudi Arabia, who took part in the massacre.

According to the news agency, demoralization in the opposition groups has reached a point when hundreds of militant groups, making up the "Seven-Party Alliance", refuse to take part in combat operations, fleeing from the battlefield.

Jalalabad Fighting, Foreign Interference Viewed
PM2203154589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Observer Manki Ponomarev under the rubric "World Today: Problems and Opinions": "Afghanistan's Difficult Days"]

[Text] It has been 1 month since the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan ended. The withdrawal was carried out precisely according to the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements and the dates and schedule outlined a year ago.

You might think that all the conditions have now been created for the Afghan settlement to be put on a peaceful footing. However, the tension of the situation in Afghanistan has not diminished. On the contrary, it has increased still more. Ignoring all the proposals by the republic's government, the armed Afghan opposition has adopted a policy exclusively of seizing power by force. The fratricidal war of Afghans against Afghans is intensifying and growing in size.

In its desire to achieve its ends the armed opposition resorts to greatly varied forms and means of struggle. There is the formation of the so-called "transitional government." There is the desire to encircle and blockade Kabul and other centers in the country and stifle them with the boney hand of hunger. There are the attempts to demoralize and corrupt the Afghan Army.

The chief gamble has been made on an attempt to capture Jalalabad, the third city in size and importance and the center of Nangarhar Province. On what was the opposition counting when it launched its assault on Jalalabad 2 weeks ago? It wanted to demonstrate its strength and combat potential to the whole world and prove the government troops' inability to hold out before its onslaught. It wanted to transfer to Jalalabad its puppet "transitional government," cobbled together at the end of February. Let us note, incidentally, that this is already the third "government" created by the "Alliance of Seven" on Pakistani territory. Of course, it can in no way aspire to the role of expressing the Afghan people's interests and represents no one but itself. It has failed to receive recognition even from the loyal patrons of the "diehards"—the United States and Pakistan.

So the "Peshawar seven" need to capture Jalalabad in order to try to establish themselves on Afghan soil and secure the longed-for recognition of their puppets. The opposition has spared no effort in this. More than 15,000 fighters have been thrown into the assault on the city. They are equipped with the most sophisticated weapons, chiefly of U.S. origin, including new missiles with a range of up to 80 km. The combat operations are directed by military advisers from Pakistan and the United States. The Pakistani Air Force actively supports the attackers' actions, bringing in reinforcements and equipment by helicopter. Pakistani tribal militia formations are operating together with the Afghan "diehards."

The fierceness of the fighting outside the walls of Jalalabad, where opposition forces are trying to show what they are capable of, is evidenced by the fact that during the first 10 days after the start of the rebels' offensive their losses reached 4,500 men. Thousands of rockets and artillery shells were launched against the city's residential districts. But the "diehards" have failed to achieve their ends. Government troops are in full control of the situation in the region of the city. In the opinion of the Afghan leadership, positive trends are becoming increasingly noticeable in the military-political situation around Jalalabad.

Nevertheless, the battle for Jalalabad is not over. Although repeated assaults on the city have been repulsed, the government troops have not inflicted a decisive defeat on the attackers. This is accounted for not only and not so much by the strength of the armed opposition. Pakistan's inciting role plays a special part. THE NEW YORK TIMES cited a statement by a member of the opposition: "The Pakistanis are pressuring us to launch a decisive offensive against Jalalabad." And REUTER reported: "Mujahidin spokesmen say they are under pressure from the Pakistani military."

These are not empty words. Pakistan's policy toward Afghanistan has undergone no changes. Moreover, the Pakistani military's interference in Afghanistan's affairs can hardly be regarded as anything but actual aggression today. More and more new facts directly attesting to this are becoming known. The Swedish newspaper AFTONBLADET carried an entire page under the banner headline "Pakistanis Fighting in Afghanistan."

Pakistani military intelligence is being particularly active. Lieutenant General G. Khamid [name as transliterated], chief of the Pakistani Interdepartmental Intelligence Agency, recently visited Afghanistan's Konarha Province in secret. The Indian newspaper PATRIOT wrote that this was not the general's first venture onto Afghan territory. A rebel taken prisoner by government

troops admitted that a high-ranking Pakistani intelligence officer named Dzhundzhua [name as transliterated] directs all the extremists' operations in Nangarhar.

Pakistan has flatly denied these facts. But then two Pakistani military intelligence officers were captured recently near Jalalabad—Muhammad Afzul Gojar and Muhammad Ashraf Bashir, who had been personally participating in combat operations. One wonders what Islamabad will say now, how it will try to wriggle out of this one.

Pakistan's interference and aid to antigovernment armed formations in the form of advisers, tribal militia fighters, and weapons pose a great danger. They lead to further exacerbation of the conflict and widen the bloody fratricidal war. These actions flagrantly contravene the Geneva accords, which are being grossly flouted. At the same time it must be emphasized that this course is being pursued, above all, to please Washington, for certain U.S. circles believe that U.S. interests in the region might be jeopardized if the war in Afghanistan ends. This is why Washington, too, is continuing direct interference in Afghan affairs.

Because of external interference, the situation in Afghanistan remains very complex. Armed opposition detachments control a considerable proportion of the country's rural districts to a greater or lesser degree. They have accumulated combat experience and are well equipped. Nevertheless, the rebels have not achieved decisive successes in any sector. They have failed to capture a single large city. Still less have they succeeded in shaking the power base of the legitimate government in Kabul.

On the contrary, a definite consolidation of the patriotic forces has been noted recently. The Afghan leadership declared a state of emergency in the country following the Soviet troop withdrawal. This played its part in strengthening the Army and enhancing the responsibility of representatives of the organs of power. The unity of party ranks has strengthened. It has become clear that the patriotic forces are capable of independently upholding the country's sovereignty and the main areas of their chosen path of development.

Government troops have conducted a series of successful combat operations in many of the country's provinces. They have succeeded in ensuring traffic along the Hayratan-Kabul highway, along which humanitarian aid arrives from the Soviet Union. Kabul Airport and the airports of certain other cities are open—which is extremely important under the conditions of the blockade to which the rebels are resorting. The facts show that Afghanistan's Armed Forces are in a position to reliably defend the legitimate regime and every square meter of the country's territory.

While repulsing enemy attacks, the government of the Republic of Afghanistan is consistently implementing the policy of national reconciliation. It is gambling not on continuing the armed confrontation, but on a balanced political dialogue with all sides interested in a political settlement.

The only sensible alternative to war is the path of peace talks, compromise, and the establishment of inter-Afghan dialogue. Peace and national concord in Afghanistan can be achieved only through the joint efforts of all political parties and groups, including, of course, the PDPA, which enjoys the support of a considerable part of the population.

As for the Soviet Union, it remains faithful to the Geneva agreements, persistently seeking their actual realization and fulfilling its pledges under the bilateral Soviet-Afghan treaties designed to protect the neighboring country's sovereignty and independence against encroachments from outside. Leaving Afghanistan out of goodwill and by agreement with the Afghan leadership, the Soviet Union intends to continue promoting a peaceful and all-embracing Afghan settlement. We will not break our word of loyalty, given to Afghanistan at a difficult time for it.

Pakistan 'Interference' Prolonging Afghan War

LD2203195689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1544 GMT 22 Mar 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Text] Heavy fighting between government troops and detachments of the armed opposition is continuing in Afghanistan, especially around the city of Jalalabad. The U.S. news agency UPI writes that the fierce attacks by opposition detachments on Jalalabad, which have been going on for more than 2 weeks, have become bogged down. In the estimation of military experts—U.S. ones, evidently—this has occurred because the mujahidin have no command structure capable of planning and implementing offensive operations. One could add that it is not only a unified command structure that is lacking in the ranks of the rebels, but also unity, pure and simple. There have already been repeated reports of disagreements between them that have escalated into bloody clashes.

The various groupings that make up the so-called Peshawar Seven are fighting a struggle for power and influence against each other, and also against the so-called field commanders in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, the Pakistani military intelligence, which in essence works out all the plans for attacks on Afghan towns and provinces, has put its stake on the Islamic fundamentalists, first and foremost the Hikmatyar grouping. It is this group that mainly gets money and the latest weaponry. But Pakistan's interference, as has already been reported, is not limited to this. Irrefutable facts, including evidence

from Western journalists, show that regular Pakistani troops are participating directly in military action on the side of the irreconcilable opposition.

One can also add that several thousand Muslim fanatics from other countries have also been sent in from Pakistani territory, from Saudi Arabia and Sudan, for example. Under the banner of a jihad, that is, a sacred war against unbelievers, these fanatics, among whom members of the Wahhabi sect are particularly brutal, are prepared to kill anyone. For example, a few days ago they were on the verge of shooting a group of Western journalists in the Konarha Valley, according to the British THE INDEPENDENT newspaper. The fanatics also deal mercilessly with civilians from occupied settlements, and with Afghan prisoners of war. Thus, for example, according to AFP, several government soldiers captured in the town of Towr Kham near the Afghan-Pakistan border were killed and their bodies dismembered.

Of course, all this bloodshed and the Afghan people's suffering would have ceased long ago if the patrons of the mujahidin—the United States and Pakistan, who supply the mujahidin with arms and money—were to honestly implement the Geneva Agreements, cease their interference in Afghanistan's affairs, and allow the Afghans themselves to begin the process of a peaceful settlement in the country without incitement from outside. [video shows rebel forces firing rocket batteries and artillery]

Second Round of U.S.-PLO Tunis Talks Begins

LD2203160489 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Tunis March 22 TASS—U.S. and Palestinian negotiators began their second official meeting near the Tunisian capital Wednesday.

The American delegation is led by U.S. ambassador to Tunisia Robert Pelletreau, and the Palestinian delegation by PLO Executive Committee member Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh.

An official spokesman for the Palestine Liberation Organisation said that the talks will centre on problems of terrorism and various aspects of a Middle East settlement.

The first round of the PLO-U.S. dialogue began last December. The direct official contacts between Washington and the PLO were greeted by Arab countries but evoked irritation of the Israeli leadership.

Gerasimov Criticizes Israel Rigidity on Mideast

TA2203184489 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1730 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Gennadiy Gerasimov, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, says there has been a change in the position of the new U.S. Administration regarding Israel and the PLO. Gerasimov also expressed the Soviet Union's regret over the immobility in Israel's policy, which blocks the efforts to solve the conflict. Gennadiy Gerasimov answered questions of our correspondent in Paris, G. Kouts:

[Begin Kouts recording] Gerasimov said there has been a change in the new U.S. Administration's position toward Israel and the PLO, just as there has been an undeniable change in the PLO's position. Gerasimov said the Soviet Union regrets the immobility of Yitzhaq Shamir and other Israeli leaders, something that blocks the efforts toward solving the Middle East conflict. The Soviet Union is convinced that an international peace conference is the best way to solve the conflict and that preparations to begin such a conference should be made as soon as possible. At the same time, the Soviet Union will welcome any fresh ideas on how such preparations could be started.

When asked about coordination between the superpowers regarding the Middle East conflict, Gerasimov said that in the meeting between Shevardnadze and Baker in Vienna early this month, the two foreign ministers decided to continue discussing the issue in their next meeting in Moscow scheduled for early April. The Middle East is included in the discussions of the No. 3 experts team; according to the Soviet spokesman, however, the number does not necessarily indicate the importance the Soviets attach to this issue.

Answering a question regarding Syria's policy in Lebanon and its policy toward the PLO, Gerasimov said the Soviet Union wants the Arabs, including the PLO, to reach an agreement between themselves, because this divisiveness is what enables Israel to disregard international public opinion. [end recording]

East Europe

Hungary's Grosz Previews Visit to USSR

LD2203231789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, by Moscow TV Budapest correspondent Yevgeniy Shirokov in Budapest on 22 March]

[Text] A visit to our country by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, starts tomorrow. Karoly Grosz has granted an interview to our correspondent in Budapest:

[Begin video interview] [Correspondent Yevgeniy Shirokov, identified by screen caption] What aspects of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation would you single out as the most topical?

[Grosz, in Hungarian with superimposed Russian translation] In our bilateral relations, I consider the widening of our political cooperation to be very important. Economic cooperation is also of fundamental significance. Here, regrettably, there are certain failings. Last year trade turnover between the two countries went down somewhat, and indeed the plans that have been adopted are not as yet reaching the level of targets reached earlier. Previous errors in our cooperation, when the specific requirements of the partners in economic integration were insufficiently considered, are making themselves felt. That relates not just to bilateral economic relations, but also relations with other socialist countries. We are pinning great hopes on the renewal of the whole system of cooperation in the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Good ideas are being conceived about how to realize this hope, but regrettably this is not proceeding as rapidly as one would like. Generally speaking, there are things for us to discuss in a serious and committed fashion. [end interview] [video shows Shirokov, Grosz seated next to each other in conversation]

Hungarian Envoy to USSR Previews Grosz Visit

LD2203212989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (TASS)—"Karoly Grosz, general secetary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers party [MSZMP], attaches great significance to his coming meeting in Moscow with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The MSZMP Politburo, the Central Committee, and all party members are waiting impatiently for the meeting." This was stated today by Sandor Rajnai, Hungary's ambassador to the USSR, who addressed a news conference at the Hungarian Embassy devoted to the working visit to the Soviet Union of Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary, which begins on Thursday.

The ambassador went on to say that the MSZMP general secretary is preparing for the Moscow meeting with a view to holding a thorough exchange of views with the Soviet leader on topical issues relating to the development of socialism and to discussing progress in the fulfillment in their countries of the decisions of the party conferences. I think, he emphasized, that an important aim of the talks will be to strengthen trust and concerted actions between our parties. Quite evidently the dialogue between Mikhail Gorbachev and Karoly Grosz will examine matters concerning economic, cultural, and humanitarian cooperation between the USSR and Hungary. The quest for new forms of bilateral interaction in particular may facilitate an improvement in the entire work of CEMA.

An important place during the meeting will probably be taken up by questions concerning the cooperation of the Soviet Union and Hungary in the international arena, the Hungarian ambassador said. The positions of our countries in this field fully coincide, Sandor Rajnai stressed.

Questioned on Foreign Policy

LD2203192789 Budapest MTI in English 1832 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 22 (MTI)—In anticipation of the forthcoming visit to Moscow of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary, Sandor Rajnai, Hungary's ambassador to the Soviet Union, informed Soviet journalists in Moscow on Thursday about the Hungarian political and economic reforms and the spring holidays.

He said that the talks between Mr Grosz and Mr Gorbachev would mainly cover the internal processes taking place in the two countries, but international issues would also be discussed. He emphasized that the HSWP general secretary attaches extremely great importance to the visit.

The Soviet journalists were very keen to know about the official judgement of the slogans voiced by certain alternative organizations at the March 15 celebrations, including the demand for pulling out of the Warsaw Treaty, the relevant position of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the prospects of the Hungarian foreign policy in general. A separate question concerned the speech of Karoly Grosz at the Budapest session of the Interparliamentary Union, particularly his statements about parties and the socialist countries' independence.

Prague Court Reduces Havel Sentence on Appeal

PM2203154189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Sentence Handed Down"]

[Text] The Prague City Court Senate yesterday heard an appeal in the case of Vaclav Havel, the Czechoslovak dramatist and one of the leaders of the "Charter 77" opposition grouping.

Exactly 1 month ago the borough lower court sentenced him to 9 months' imprisonment at an intensified-regime institution for inciting the mass disturbances in Wenceslas Square this January and for obstructing the security organs in the course of their duties.

Having considered the documents and evidence submitted and having heard prosecution and defense opinions, the Senate amended the borough court's decision and sentenced Vaclav Havel to 8 months' imprisonment in a general-regime institution.

Jaruzelski Says Talks 'Logical' Outcome of Reform

PM2303094589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Achieve Accord"]

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Mar—The need to create the conditions for national accord and further democratization combined with more rapid reforms in the economy must

lead to the unification of Poland's main social forces around the people's most important tasks, W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, said. He was addressing a 2-day conference of chairmen of voivodship people's councils that has opened here and that also involves members of the State Council and the government. The "roundtable" talks, the speaker noted, are the logical outcome of the process of reforms begun by the Ninth PZPR Congress. The achievement of a compromise between the main forces in society has been prepared for by numerous reforms, which have led to the appearance of new, democratic state institutions, strengthened the rule of law and civic freedoms, and ensured glasnost in sociopolitical life.

W. Jaruzelski stressed the great importance of reaching agreement at grassroots level, as it is there that the results of the "roundtable" work are implemented in practice. He urged the chairmen of the people's councils to work actively and consistently to form a broad coalition united around the implementation of social and economic reforms and to seek new forms of collaboration with everyone who wants to cooperate.

The conference participants heard reports on the progress of the "roundtable" work and the results achieved, the principles of changes in the Polish Constitution, which are connected with the creation of a senate and the institution of a national presidency, and also on the draft provisions for elections to the Sejm and Senate.

Lukyanov Meets Poland's Mlynczak 21 Mar

PM2303104589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In an Atmosphere of Friendship"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received T. Mlynczak, deputy chairman of the Polish State Council and chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee, in the Kremlin 21 March.

During a conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, the guest from the fraternal country was informed of the progress of the campaign of elections of USSR people's deputies, which will be a major landmark in the implementation of political reform, and of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum, which marked the beginning of a radical turnaround in the party's agrarian policy.

T. Mlynczak talked about the Democratic Party's role in developing the process of renewal and reforms in Poland, the "roundtable" debates, in which the country's various political forces are taking part, and the Polish Sejm elections scheduled for the middle of this year.

The sides noted with satisfaction the dynamic development of fraternal, mutually-beneficial USSR-Polish cooperation in various spheres and confirmed that they regard the singleminded work to implement the accords secured in the course of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Poland in July 1988 as the pivotal area in the entire complex of bilateral relations. The Democratic Party's substantial contribution to strengthening Soviet-Polish friendship was pointed out and the status of and prospects for the development of interparliamentary ties between the two countries examined.

Complete unity of views was expressed during the discussion of international problems on key questions of world policy, and the important significance of implementing the large-scale Soviet initiatives put forward at the United Nations, the mutual USSR and Polish endeavor to continue to actively facilitate the affirmation of ge[illegible]l human values in international relations, and confi[illegible]e and security building in Europe and the world as a w[illegible]ole was stressed.

R.P. Fedorov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and W. Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Shevardnadze Receives Bulgarian Ambassador

LD2203170189 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received on Wednesday Bulgarian Ambassador to the USSR Georgiy Pankov at the latter's request.

The talk, which passed in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, focused on Soviet-Bulgarian relations, and prospects for developing new forms of bilateral cooperation in all fields with account taken of the current restructuring programme in the USSR and Bulgaria.

During the exchange of views on urgent international issues, the firm resolve of the two countries was stressed to achieve a radical improvement in the situation in the world and further progress in arms reductions and disarmament, to strengthen European and universal security. The importance was also stressed of efforts to promote friendly and good-neighborly relations between Balkan countries, to turn the Balkan peninsula into a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons.

Ceausescu Urges End to Chemical, Nuclear Arms

LD2303120189 Moscow TASS in English 1152 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest March 23 TASS—Romania favours a total elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, a fifty percent cut in conventional arms and strict international control over the implementation of these measures, Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu said at a meeting in Hunedoara Province.

Ceausescu also emphasised that it was necessary to drastically cut military spending and redirect the money to help solve world problems and raise the standards of living of all nations.

The Romanian president said his country resolutely supports negotiations as the exclusive method of settling interstate disputes and promoting cooperation and solidarity with developing countries.

Ceausescu called for a speedy solution of the problems of underdevelopment the world over and a new world economic order.

West Europe

Yakovlev Visits Italy for PCI Congress

Meets With PCI's Occhetto

PM2303105189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Meetings in Rome"]

[Text] Rome, 21 Mar—A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the head of the CPSU delegation at the 18th Italian Communist Party [PCI] Congress, met with Achille Occhetto, secretary general of the PCI, here today. Comrade Occhetto expressed a high opinion of M.S. Gorbachev's address to the Italian Communists' congress and stressed that the PCI firmly supports the restructuring under way in the USSR.

In a warm and comradely atmosphere the meeting's participants informed one another of the two parties' activity and the questions they are resolving under specific conditions within the two countries. Opinions were exchanged on the progress and positive development of CPSU-PCI cooperation, the current situation in Europe and throughout the world, the global problems of the day, and the prospects for European leftist forces.

Meets Soviet Aktiv in Rome

LD2103231789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2029 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Rome, 21 Mar (TASS)—A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is heading a CPSU delegation at the 18th Congress of the Italian Communist Party, spoke today at a meeting of aktiv from Soviet establishments in Italy. He talked about the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union, the decisions of the March CPSU Central Committee plenum, the election campaign, and tasks facing the party and the Soviet people.

Meets Prime Minister De Mita

LD2103180389 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Rome March 21 TASS—Secretary of the Soviet Comunist Party Central Committee Aleksandr Yakovlev, on a visit here, met on Tuesday with Italian Prime Minister Ciriaco de Mita.

They discussed world developments in conditions of the ongoing normalisation of the international situation.

The importance of implementing the ideas and initiatives advanced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in New York on December 7, 1988 was stressed.

The head of the Italian Government emphasised that Italy would continue to abide by the agreements reached in Moscow in October last year with Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders.

In their substantive and cordial discussion, the sides gave much attention to promoting bilateral ties, including large-scale economic cooperation both between the USSR and Italy, and between East and West on the whole.

Meets Spadolini

LD2203141189 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Rome March 22 TASS—A meeting between Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, and Giovanni Spadolini, president of the Italian Senate, took place here today.

Matters concerning Soviet-Italian relations and, in particular, contacts between the parliamentarians of the two countries were discussed in a friendly atmosphere.

The two sides expressed conviction that such contacts would undoubtedly promote better climate not only in bilateral relations but also in Europe as a whole.

Discusses PCI Congress

LD2203223289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent Yuriy Vybornov video report]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] In Rome today the 18th Congress of the Italian Communists is winding up its work:

[Vybornov] In the last day of work of the congress, the discussion of its final documents was continued. The delegates passed a number of resolutions including one on the role of the Communist Party in the European arena and a resolution on problems of peace and security

in Europe. The electoral commission also made a report to the congress. Right now the election of a new composition of the party's Central Committee and of the National Commission on Guarantees is taking place. [video shows congress hall, some speakers, and the delegates applauding]

Comrade Yakovlev, the head of the CPSU delegation at the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, gave an interview to the "Vremya" program. [Video shows Vybornov addressing Yakovlev, who is standing with arms folded against the background of an orange curtain. Yakovlev then seen chewing at his spectacles while reflecting on a question.]

[Begin video interview] [Vybornov] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, the Italian Communist Party is currently the most influential of the communist parties of Western Europe both in terms of the number of voters supporting it and in terms of influence. It is known that in different years our relations with this party have formed in different ways. What, then, are your impressions from what you have heard and seen at this congress, and from the point of view of the program the party has set for itself? What evaluation can you give?

[Yakovlev] Well, first of all, I think this congress brought a final end to those various relations in the past that you have mentioned. It is sufficient to say that the report of Comrade Occhetto, the general secretary, spoke about our restructuring in great detail, in an interesting way, and with great understanding. It is no accident that this has to some extent also perturbed the opponents of the Communist Party, insofar as the changes in the Soviet Union, in our public life, today concern not only the members of the Communist Party and those who hold progressive views, but also the most broad public. And I would look precisely from this point of view at the course of the discussion and the decisions adopted.

Of course, the comrades, the Communists of Italy, laid out in the report and in the speeches their own problems, laid out the problems of Italy and international problems, but all the time I never lost the feeling that this discussion was proceeding in the spirit of modern times, in the spirit of those processes unfolding in the world, in the spirit of those processes for which our restructuring, too, has provided an impetus, those most deep changes in the Soviet Union. And this, naturally, both gladdens and obliges one. And it obliges us, as Soviet Communists, too. The thing that produced the deepest impression was the enthusiasm that attended the congress, and the inner unity Italian Communists have attained, something that, of course, will assist them in assuming a more lasting position in the public life of Italy. Such is my point of view on this question.

[Vybornov] Thank you. [end interview]

Leaves Rome for Home

LD2203153989 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Rome March 22 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party delegation that attended the 18th Congress of the Italian Communist Party left Rome for Moscow today.

The delegation was led by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Met by Zaykov in Moscow on Return

LD2203190289 Moscow TASS in English 1823 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—A CPSU delegation, led by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, returned from Rome to Moscow after taking part in the 18th Congress of the Italian Communist Party.

At the airport in Moscow the delegation was met by Lev Zaykov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow party committee, and Valentin Falin, head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

Gerasimov, Greece's Papandreou Discuss Cyprus

NC1803141189 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1230 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou received Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at 1100 at Ekali. According to a statement by government spokesman Sotirios Kostopoulos, the Soviet official's visit to Greece is within the framework of the friendly exchange of views between the two countries on bilateral and international matters.

During their meeting, Papandreou and Gerasimov briefed each other on matters pertaining to the East-West rapprochement, disarmament, developments in the Balkans, the eastern Mediterranean, and in the region in general.

From the Greek side, the prime minister stressed to Gerasimov Greek sensitivity toward developments and success in the Cyprus issue, and the island's demilitarization on the basis of the well-known Greek proposal.

Papandreou and Gerasimov also referred to the recent meeting of Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Paris.

Referring to the results of this meeting, Papandreou stressed to the Soviet Foreign Ministry official that interstate talks of such a high level contribute effectively to the creation of a cooperative spirit and the consolidation of confidence, which are necessary prerequisites for promotion of the East-West dialogue and the process for rapprochement between the two military blocs in matters of disarmament.

The government spokesman stated that present at the meeting were, from the Greek side, Foreign Minister Papoulias; Prof Yeoryios Katiforis, director of the Prime Minister's Economic Office; and Kiriakos Rodhousakis, director of the Prime Minister's Diplomatic Office. From the Soviet side, the meeting was attended by Soviet Ambassador to Greece Anatoliy Slyusar.

Gerasimov Departs Athens for Paris 20 Mar

NC2003112189 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1100 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Having completed his official visit to Athens today, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the International Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, departed this morning for Paris, France.

Political & Social

Brazauskas Cited on Aftermath of Ammonia Accident

LD2203231489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent A. Paulyus video report]

[Text] [Announcer] Measues to deal with the aftermath of the explosion of the ammonia storage tank, the causes of which have been established, are continuing at the Azotas production in Jonova in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

[Paulyus] There's good reason for saying that disasters do not occur singly. As it exploded and collapsed, the tank, containing 7,000 tonnes of ammonia, demolished a protective barrier. The contents of the tank reached a store containing nitrophosphate. A fire started there. [video shows aerial view of the plant, featuring the damaged tank and a long building not far from it, from which a huge cloud of yellow-orange smoke is streaming; next to it is another building emitting white smoke] Together with the cloud of ammonia that was discharged into the atmosphere, another cloud, even more poisonous, was carried by the wind in the direction of the adjacent Ukmergskiy, Shirvintskiy, and Moletskiy Rayons. It was necessary to immediately evacuate some 30,000 people from Jonava and the adjoining villages. [video shows aerial view of the cloud billowing across the countryside] The extremely difficult and dangerous struggle to deal with the consequences of the accident at the chemical plant has been going on now for nearly 60 hours.

At the accident site one can also see Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; Vitautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the republic's council of ministers; and senior officials from union and republican departments. The republic's radio informs the population regularly about the state of affairs at Azotas. [video shows Brazauskas, Sakalauskas and others outside a building, then seated around a table; Brazauskas then seen being interviewed by Paulyus]

[Begin recording] [Paulyus] On the way to see you, we heard on the radio the encouraging news that the inhabitants of Jonava can return home already today.

[Brazauskas] Yes. That's good news. I think it's good for all the townspeople in Jonava because the direction of the wind guarantees that the trail—consisting of a mixture of steam and gases—will not return toward the town.

[Paulyus] The work will yet be long and difficult?

[Brazauskas] Well, I'd like the work to be shorter and the source of these gas fumes to be eliminated more quickly. A start needs to be made on getting the whole combine back in working order because it has stopped completely, and the whole life of the area has been disrupted. [end recording]

[Announcer] We have just received a report from Jonava saying that the seat of the fire has been quelled.

8,000 Rally for Yeltsin in Moscow 22 Mar

AU2203205189 Paris AFP in English 2039 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, March 22 (AFP)—More than 8,000 people held a rally on Wednesday outside Moscow City Hall, backing the candidacy of sacked Moscow party chief Boris Yeltsin in next Sunday's elections for the new Soviet parliament.

While the crowd waved fists and chanted Mr. Yeltsin's name and "Don't touch Yeltsin," "Yeltsin yes! Mafia No!" or "shame on the bureaucracy," Interior Ministry security forces stopped the rally from getting onto other streets and cut off the square where it was held.

Representatives of the pro-reform Moscow Popular Front attempted to make speeches with megaphones, but were interrupted with cheers each time they mentioned Mr. Yeltsin's name. [passage omitted]

Moscovites of all age attended Wednesday's rally. One militia officer took a megaphone and said he would vote for Mr. Yeltsin before appealing for the rally to disperse. After several other appeals were made, another demonstration was called for Saturday to support Mr. Yeltsin and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Meanwhile in Paris, the Soviet Foreign Ministry chief spokesman Gennady Gerasimov said Mr. Yeltsin was "becoming, even if involuntarily, the opposition symbol."

Speaking to French diplomatic reporters, Mr. Gerasimov, who is visiting Paris, said "some of his statements have led to accusations that he is deviating from the party line."

According to a French poll, nearly 50 per cent of Soviet citizens favour the introduction of a multi-party system in the Soviet Union over one-party rule, while 82 per cent think their country should look west for political reforms.

The news weekly NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR said the Research Centre of the Soviet Association of Sociology telephoned 1,000 people from February 15-20 to carry out the first poll on trends ahead of the election.

According to the magazine, 46 per cent of those polled advocated the introduction of a Western-style multiparty system in the Soviet Union, 29 per cent rejected the idea, while 10 per cent said it would not change anything and 15 per cent were undecided.

'Inflammatory' Statements Made at Election Rally

PM2303112589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Rally in Sovetskaya Square"]

[Text] A preelection rally took place in Moscow's Sovetskaya Square on the evening of 22 March.

Yu.A. Belyakov, first deputy chairman of Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, told a TASS correspondent that its participants came out in support of the policy of restructuring, broadening democratism and glasnost, and consistently developing the political reform of Soviet society.

At the same time certain speeches were of an antisocial nature, there was a lack of restraint, attempts were made to create a heated atmosphere, and inflammatory statements were made.

The rally participants did not support them, and disagreement with such appeals was heard. Public order was ensured.

Academy of Science Elections, Nominations Outlined

LD2203232189 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] The USSR Academy of Sciences has held a special conference to elect its delegates to the new national legislative assembly. Radio Moscow's reporter (Vladimir Belov) has the details.

Let me remind you that under the electoral law the Academy of Sciences alongside other social organizations has been empowered to send its delegates to the nation's highest body of state authority. It has been granted a quota of 20 seats. In January various research institutes came up with their nominees, a total of 130 persons. However, a full-scale meeting of the Academy Presidium left a mere 23 names on the ballot list. Some of those deleted are scientists of world acclaim, known as firm supporters of renewal: Members of the Academy Andrey Sakharov, Raold Sagdeyev, Abel Aganbegyan, and others. The decision was followed by massive protests. A large group of scientists demonstrated in front of the building of the Academy Presidium.

That was the situation the Academy of Sciences Electoral Commission had to face. The Academy vice president Vladimir Kudryavtsev has summed up the results in the following way: At the just-ended meeting of the conference the results of elections at the Academy of Sciences were announced, he said. Only eight candidates were elected, less than we could have elected. You may remember there are 20 seats that the Academy is entitled to. I should say that all of those elected are very worthy people, having great authority in science and society. Now the Academy of Sciences still has 12 seats to fill. Under the electoral law, another round of elections can be held, and that will be done. When the conference learned the results of the voting it began nominating new names to be included in the list of candidates who would run in the second round. Besides the conference raised many issues of democratization at the Academy of Sciences itself. The past few months and weeks seem to have left the impression that there is a gap or even a split between the leaders of the Academy and its officers, that is the research personnel. Today's conference has shown that there is none. Even if there were some differences, they have now been narrowed or ironed out. There was no confrontation or conflicting resolutions. True, there was a pluralism of opinion, but it was expressed in the most decent and appropriate democratic way, said Vladimir Kudryavtsev.

The two controversial figures who have been in the news a great deal are Sagdeyev and Sakharov. What can the Academy vice president Vladimir Kudryavtsev say on this issue? Many delegates to the conference nominated them again, he said. Besides the presidium of the Academy, too, mentioned them as potential candidates earlier. Let me say that it was not the two men that provoked the controversies. The two names were rather a pretext. Conflicts and drawbacks in the operation of the Academy have piled up for quite a long time throughout the era of stagnation. That electoral campaign, probably too troublesome, was very positive in this respect, and not only in the sense of the expected results. That campaign has shown that many drawbacks become a matter of public discussion and this is very good.

Elected representatives of research institutes accounted for a considerable share of the participants in the conference. How do they see the results? (Valeriy Shurov) of the Philosophy Institute of the Academy of Sciences says this: I believe that all the participants in the conference are quite happy about the results. The aim the electors set themselves has been achieved.

The USSR Academy of Sciences will hold a second round of elections to fill the 12 seats still vacant by the end of April. Already now about 80 candidates have been nominated.

Academy Elects 8 of 20 Deputies

PM2303144989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[From SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA-TASS feature under general headline "Programs Presented, Choice Made. At Public Organization Plenums and Conferences"]

[Text] For a period of 8 hours, the tape dividing one of the halls in Moscow's Palace of Youth, where a conference of the USSR Academy of Sciences elected USSR

people's deputies from the Academy, acted as a kind of border separating representatives of the scientific community and the press from members of the electoral commission. The commission spent that time working hard to count the votes cast for the 23 candidate deputies contesting the 20 "Academy" seats.

The following gained the required number of votes, resulting in election as USSR people's deputy: Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Urals Department Philosophy and Law Institute; Academician Zhores Ivanovich Alferov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences A.F. Ioffe Physical Technical Institute in Leningrad; Academician Andrey Viktorovich Gaponov-Grekhov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Applied Physics Institute in Gorkiy; Nikolay Vasilyevich Karlov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and rector of the Moscow Physical Technical Institute; Academician Oleg Matveyevich Nefedov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Academician Yuriy Andreyevich Osipyan, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Academician Vladimir Petrovich Platonov, president of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Academy of Sciences; Academician Karl Karlovich Rebane, president of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences.

"The enlarged plenum of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, striving to democratize the election campaign, decided to give the right to participate in elections not only to members of the Academy but also to electors [vyborshchik] from institutes," G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said. "On the one hand this created certain difficulties, but on the other hand it provided an opportunity to conduct an open exchange of opinions which would result in deeper mutual understanding between the USSR Academy of Sciences leadership and the scientific public."

The 12 seats which still remain vacant will be assigned following a second round of elections in the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Medvedev Interviewed on Elections

AU2303114389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Mar 89 p 5

[Vladimir Jancura Moscow dispatch: "End to Unanimity"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday's elections of people's deputies for the USSR Academy of Sciences lasted 2 and ½ hours. [passage omitted]

Only this morning, after counting the votes, will the electoral commission announce what happened in the polling booths, how many delegates struck out the names of all 23 candidates, as demanded by the so-called inter-institute initiative group in an effort to declare the elections null and void and to force the Presidium to call a new election, at which the radicals could get "their" people on the list of candidates. [passage omitted]

Among the last ones to fulfill his duty to vote was Vadim Medvedev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He readily replied to questions asked by our small group of journalists.

[Question] How do you evaluate the process of proposing candidates for deputies on behalf of the Academy? After all, even some Soviet newspapers have expressed doubts about it....

[Medvedev] "What matters is whether the letter of the law has been complied with. The Central Electoral Commission maintains that it has."

[Question] Reservations can be heard to the effect that several so-called active fighters for restructuring are missing among the candidates. What do you think about this?

[Medvedev] "The candidates have been selected by the expanded Presidium of the Academy, that is, by competent voters. Their view needs to be respected."

[Question] What is the role of the present election campaign in the USSR from the viewpoint of society's restructuring?

[Medvedev] "It is a very important step on this road. Perhaps it suffices to say that to date our country has not experienced such democratic elections. Surely some problems and shortcomings have surfaced during the campaign and it cannot be ruled out that, after its thorough analysis, it will be necessary to define some things in the electoral law more accurately, to amend it. However, the main thing is something else, namely, that the elections give a strong boost to the further advancement of restructuring."

[Question] A much-discussed issue is the fact that, during the elections of deputies for the CPSU at the latest Central Committee plenum, members of the Politburo received, in fact, the most "nays." How can this be explained?

[Medvedev] "I do not see anything unnatural in this. Members of the Politburo are the best known comrades, whose assigned task is to tackle even unpopular issues concerning the activity of ministries and other bodies of management in the center, in oblasts, and in union republics. If we have received 10 or 20 fewer votes than other candidates, so what? It would be wrong to draw some far-reaching conclusions from this."

Indeed, in the Soviet Union they have once and for all bid farewell to the former, often falsely perceived, principle of unanimous decisions on vitally important issues. That, too, is one of the fruits of the restructuring of social awareness, a restructuring that is inspired and guided by the CPSU.

Soviet Peace Committee Plenum Elects Deputies

LD2203171989 Moscow TASS in English 1653 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The combined plenum of the Soviet Peace Committee and the Soviet U.N. Association has elected deputies to the country's new national Assembly.

The deputies were instructed to strive for an effective coordination of the people's and official diplomacies and for a radical restructuring of internatiuonal relations in line with new political thinking.

Under the new Soviet election law, one third, or 750 of the total 2,250 seats in the new Parliament are to be filled by members of various public interest groups. Group representatives are elected to the assigned quota by groups themselves and not by population constituencies as before.

The electors were guided in their selection by considerations of the candidates' personal contribution to restructuring, public life democratization and the promotion of paramount decisions on war and peace issues.

Five seats were contested by six candidates. The winning five included Soviet Peace Commitee Chairman Genrikh Borovik, his first deputy, writer Anatoliy Ananyev, editor-in chief of the Minsk-based magazine "WORKING WOMAN AND FARMER" and Belorussian Peace Committee member Maria Karpenko, director of the Novosibirsk Blood Pathology Research Centre Yevgeniy Meshalkin, and Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and all Russia, elected by an overwhelming majority.

It came as a surprise to many that chairman of the Soviet U.N. Association Georgiy Arbatov, who for twenty years had headed the Academic Institute of American and Canadian studies in Moscow, was the loser.

This was probably due, in part, to an open letter criticism of Arbatov's power and pressure methods in running the institute "quite like in the time of stagnation". The open letter addressed to the plenum was signed by a group of Moscow scientists.

In their closing addresses, Soviet peace activists called on their deputies to work towards peace both on a global scale and locally, in their homeland, to ensure equality of nationalities and ethnic groups, as well as mutual respect for ethnic interests, dignity, cultural heritage, languages and traditions.

Sakharov Nominated as Candidate

LD2203215289 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Public organizations in the Soviet Union are about to finish the elections of deputies to a new national legislative assembly. On Wednesday, five deputies out of six candidates were elected at a joint full-scale meeting of the Soviet Peace Committee and the United Nations' Association in the Soviet Union [passage omitted]

A number of scientists who sought to be elected from the Academy of Sciences failed. Of the 23 candidates for 20 seats, a mere 8 candidates managed to collect the required number of votes. New candidates have been suggested for the 12 seats that have remained vacant. Among the nominees are members of the Academy Andrey Sakharov and Roald Sagdeyev. [passage omitted]

Candidate Deputies Campaign, Present Platforms

Abalkin on Importance of Restructuring

AU1603212089 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview with Leonid Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economic Institute, by Raycho Radulov and Petur Minev, Moscow correspondents: "Politics and Bread"—in Moscow, date not given]

[Text] Leonid Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economic Institute declared in his election program: "As a candidate deputy for the CPSU, as a scholar, and as a citizen, I entirely support restructuring. This is the only path leading to economic upsurge, to the social renewal of society, to improving its social health."

We asked him:

[Radulov, Minev] How do Soviet people feel about the results of restructuring?

[Abalkin] The economic situation continues to be difficult and tense. Certain negative trends have not only failed to diminish, but are even increasing. This, however, is reflected in the pace of development. Light industry and machine building are lagging.... We did not succeed in improving the situation of supplies to the population. As in the past, we are proceeding along the path of extensive development in the economic sector. We are increasing the consumption of resources. Restructuring in the sphere of the economic structure is not being pursued as energetically as it should be. The situation of the national economy is truly difficult, despite the fact that we have achieved a great deal. Above everything else, we managed to stop the slow but steady progress of the crisis which characterized the situation in our country in the late seventies and early eighties.

[Radulov, Minev] Nevertheless, you once stated that man in the past, today, and in the future would judge politics and its results on the basis of the goods available on the market and on the question of whether people are standing in line for food, or not. The picture is not very attractive in this respect today. What are the reasons for this?

[Abalkin] As I already said, we are facing an extensive economic development. Disproportions have not been eliminated, on the contrary, they have even deteriorated, and this applies to the consumer goods market, as well. The reasons for this are numerous.

The restructuring process in our economic mechanism is developing under extremely unfavorable conditions. As the saying goes, the ink was still fresh on the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, when the Chernobyl tragedy occurred. It cost our people R8 billion, which represents 1.5 percent of the national income. I do not even count the political, psychological, and social losses we suffered in this connection. This was followed by the tragic earthquake in Armenia, and by the subsequent earthquake in Tadzhikistan.... The necessary but over-hasty campaign against alcoholism drastically affected the country's financial situation and our budget. Along with this, the situation on the international market deteriorated to our disadvantage. The prices of some raw materials and energy resources which are our traditional export goods have dropped.

[Radulov, Minev] The CPSU Central Committee plenum on agriculture is just beginning. The discussions preceeding it are urgently raising the matter of kolkhozes [collective farms], and sovkhozes [state farms], implying that they had become outdated and have exhausted their possibilities. A broad development of cooperatives, and of the land-lease system is being proposed.... Can you describe your stand on this matter?

[Abalkin] Unlike the reforms of the recent past, the present reform includes diversity as a matter of principle. It involves the refusal to find uniform solutions for all national economic branches. The system of kolkhozes and sovkhozes has been existing for several decades, but after 73 years of Soviet government we are still confronted with the food supply problem. It is not necessary to be an expert to understand that a system that has been incapable of solving this problem for so many years needs drastic improvement.... Nevertheless, we should not easily dismiss our kolkhozes and sovkhozes. A diversified approach to different geographical areas and to the conditions existing within them is required. The changes should affect the inner economic structure—namely the ownership of production means. This not only applies to cooperatives or individual labor, but also to global changes in

* Bovin Recalls 'Life Experience'

18300463 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 11, 18-24 Mar 89 p 5

[Interview with IZVESTIYA political commentator A. Bovin, USSR Union of Journalists nominee for people's deputy, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent: "The Basis of the Program Is Life Experience"; date, place not specified]

[Text] [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Let us start with an election commonplace: tell us about your platform.

[Bovin] Yes, let's. But let us try to move to this commonplace not by commonplace routes. For what may be called my platform has been shaped (as it probably has for every candidate) by all my own life experience. The beginning of that experience, the start of my universities, was the 20th CPSU Congress. Since then there has been everything. The thaw and the freeze, upsurge and stagnation, crisis and the agonizing search for a way out of it. The story of the country and the party is my story. But what I understood and experienced in 1956 has been with me all my life. I am convinced that many can say the same. Otherwise restructuring would have been impossible.

And so, the roots of my platform are to be found in 1956. And its first clear version was already March 1987, a speech at the 6th Congress of the USSR Union of Journalists.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] We recall that various rumors of that speech were circulating.... You said something that was not "necessary"?

[Bovin] On the contrary. I said precisely what was necessary. I clearly named the banned subjects and forbidden zones for journalistic analysis. I showed, as far as I understood it, the reasons for this. I talked about the dominance of the old, long outdated, primitive schemes, standard formulations and well-masticated formulas that offer nothing for the mind or heart, and about the weakness of the argument, the substitution of proofs with epithets and scathing expressions. "Convincing criticism," I asserted, "assumes correct exposition of the logic and arguments of the enemy. Without this we have a game of give-away, shadow boxing. But our people are serious and they understand the falseness of the situation and they do not believe us. Of course, it is easier to fight shadows. But we must advance to meet the new. Western politicians and journalists and commentators must be invited to appear more often on television. We must argue with them. And I am convinced that we have sufficient intellect and skill to out-argue our opponents.

"Otherwise, I repeat, under the new conditions everyone believe us even less. They will switch off their radios and fold up their newspapers and listen to those same 'voices' anyway. We should not reassure ourselves by using 'jammers'. They offend and insult our people. If we are

to talk seriously, in a party manner, then the 'jammers' on the political plane are an admission of failure. We are, as it were, saying to ourselves and to others 'we have no argument.' I cannot agree with this position, either as a Communist or as a citizen or as a journalist whose assignment is the ideological struggle. I am sure that we have arguments for 95 percent of questions. And if we do have 5 percent of questions that we cannot answer, then we should think about them. Perhaps there is something that we are not doing, perhaps we should amend our policy." I compared the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense to fortresses that are surrounded with enormous walls and cannot be approached. What analysis is there here!?

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] You said "the first clear version." Were things unclear?

[Bovin] Yes. In October 1979 a meeting of ideological workers took place in the Kremlin. I was to speak there. The same practical issues. However, I was unable to do so; I had not the spirit to mount the rostrum. But I was not too lazy to write the text of my statement and send it to the then CPSU Central Committee secretary M.V. Zimyanin. It was explained to me that the parochial view of a journalist did not enable me to see the entire complexity of the problem.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Did you agree with that?

[Bovin] I was not about to start arguing with M.V. Zimyanin. I subsequently put various versions on paper and later passed them to three CPSU Central Committee general secretaries and another three members of the Politburo. No explanations were needed. However, A.N. Yakovlev did nevertheless offer some hope, but vaguely....

So the next journalists' congress came round and I decided that glasnost is glasnost. And I said what had matured and been considered by the experience of a journalist who is an international commentator.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] There were rumors that you paid dearly for that speech....

[Bovin] What can I say.... In line with an unspoken instruction I was not allowed on television for a year. But I was not resentful. A struggle is a struggle. If I try to strike a blow there is always the risk of being struck in return....

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Your name is often linked with the name of L.I. Brezhnev, that is, with the period of stagnation. At the same time everyone knows that you have no relationship at all with the "stagnation" journalists. Is this a paradox?

[Bovin] In my view, no. I in fact belonged to a group of people who on assignment from L.I. Brezhnev took part in the preparation of party and state documents. And as a Communist I tried to carry out my assignment with maximum sense of responsibility and return. It was, to put it mildly, a difficult thing to do, particularly in the latter half of the seventies. It was with the same sense of responsibility and return that I tried to work in IZVESTIYA. And that was also difficult. But something did come out of it. There was, so to speak, a "glasnost" during the period of lack of glasnost. And judging from the thousands of letters that I received at that time, the readers understood that I was trying to talk to them seriously.

No, there is no paradox in this. It was simply necessary to take a risk. And sometimes compromise with myself.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] But you personally understood, felt what we now call stagnation, did you not?

[Bovin] It is difficult to avoid the temptation of transferring today's ideas back to yesterday. I have seen much, of course, and understood much. At the elemental level, if I may thus express it. But there was no total, complete picture as there is now.

However, that was how the talk went.... I meet with increasing frequency people who already in kindergarten unmasked Stalin's "personality cult" and revealed Khrushchev's "voluntarism" when still in the first grades at school, and then Brezhnev's and Chernenko's labels when they were in the senior grades. Such people, of course, decisively refuse to regard themselves as responsible for the state of the society in which they lived and still do live.

I have a radically different sense of the world. I was burdened in my time. And I am responsible for everything that was. Because this is my country. This is my party, in which I have been a member for almost 40 years. Sometimes successfully, sometimes not. But I have defended my positions and my convictions.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] And did you at any time think about alternatives?

[Bovin] Yes. But switching to "pure" science seemed to me to be desertion. And I have not the character or courage to repeat the civil and moral feat of an Academician Sakharov or a Roy Medvedev.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Is it difficult for you to talk about this?

[Bovin] It is. But if I want others to understand and believe me I must understand myself.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] In any event, I now have a better understanding of the features of your journalistic writing and your persistence in defending the right of a journalist to speak the truth.

[Bovin] Let us look ahead. In order to advance restructuring, glasnost must gain new positions all the time. This is what determines my present program. First, it is the "ecology of journalism." An upsurge in the social status and material living standard of journalists, particularly in the rayons and oblasts. Legislative protection of the right to speak the truth and have access to the necessary information.... But in order for glasnost to survive it must be "fitted" into a stable civic society. This means that, second, I shall speak out in favor of a system of clear and precise laws that subordinate the state to society and protect the rights, freedoms and dignity of citizens.

To eliminate the shortage of freedom: in my opinion this is the main task for the congress of people's deputies.

Vlasov Continues Rostov Oblast Tour

LD2203225589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Meetings between Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov and voters are continuing in Rostov Oblast. [video report begins with shots of Vlasov conversing with small crowd in open air and then seated in summer houses]

Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, is continuing his meetings with voters in Rostov oblast. Today Comrade Vlasov visited a number of rural rayons in the south of the oblast. The rural toilers have a particular interest in meeting the candidate for people's deputy who had a direct part in the elaboration of the decisions of the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Rural areas are on the threshold of sharp changes, and every rural resident has plenty of questions about how and when sore problems will be solved. Everywhere that Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov appeared, close groups formed around him and a frank and acute conversation would begin. [video shows agricultural machinery standing in fields] The Put Lenina Kolkhoz [collective farm] in Peschanokopskiy Rayon was one of the first in the oblast to introduce lease contracting, and, as they say, did not lose out on the deal. The example of this farm proved to be infectious; now virtually all the farms of the rayon are going over to leasing. [video shows Vlasov outside block of flats, shots of exterior of shopping center, then interior of shop well stocked with meat, sausages, and vegetables]

At Yegorlykskaya village, Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov viewed social and cultural amenities. You can see what these dry words account for—here are the amenities, a shopping center which is arguably one of the best in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. The shops draw one's attention not just because of their exteriors, but also because of their stocked counters. No, do not think that all this has been saved up for Vlasov's arrival. Anyone who has happened to be in Yegorlykskaya even once knows that you can always buy here what you could hunt high and low for in vain even in the oblast center. This is an example of what the cooperatives can do if they are headed by bold people who have profound understanding of their business. [video shows Vlasov talking to two men standing near car at edge of a field] There was an interesting conversation at the Lenin Kolkhoz in Zernogradskiy Rayon. Here the talk was about the role of agricultural production specialists in the conditions of leasing within the farm.

Various Public Organizations Elect People's Deputies

Consumer Cooperatives Congress Votes

LD2203112289 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Another Soviet public organisation, Consumer Cooperative Societies, elected on Wednesday its representatives to the congress of people's deputies which is expected to be held in April.

The election of people's deputies representing consumer cooperative societies with a total membership of 60 million were held in accordance with the election law which gave to public organisations one third of the seats in the supreme body of state power. 750 out of 2,250 deputies will be elected not by the population, but by various public organisations in accordance with the quotas assigned to them. Consumer cooperative societies were given 40 mandates.

The elections were held in the Kremlin, at the 12th congress of Consumer Cooperative Societies. Primary organisations nominated 300 candidates. After discussing them at numerous conferences the republican cooperative societies came up with 104 candidatures. The meeting of the Council of the Central Union of Consumer Cooperative Societies analysed the candidatures and elected 40 candidates to people's deputies. Heads of republican, regional and primary consumer cooperative societies, as well as their rank-and-file members were elected people's deputies.

Arbatov Defeat Noted

LD2303093589 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Public organisations continue the election of their representatives to the Congress of People's Deputies, the top body of state authority in this country.

Under the new electoral law, public organisations will fill 750, one third, of seats assigned to them in the new 2,250-seat Soviet parliament.

Another seven public organisations chose their candidates at forums held on Wednesday.

One hundred people's deputies were elected from 114 candidates, fielded by the USSR'S trade unions, at an enlarged plenary meeting of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU). They will represent in the supreme body of state authority the interests of 142 million people united in trade unions.

Possibly, the youngest group of Soviet parliamentarians—75 people's deputies of the USSR—were elected by the Soviet Young Communist League (Komsomol). Among them are 64 men and 11 women. There are a total of 19 nationalists in the pool of Komsomol deputies. Apart from vigorously participating in the restructuring drive, the people's deputies of the USSR from the Komsomol are vested with powers th handle specific youth problems. One of the all-important ones among them is to work for the earliest adoption of a law on youth.

The consumer cooperative societies, which received 40 mandates under the new electoral law, have also elected their representatives to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

The participants in the united plenary meeting on electing people's deputies of the USSR from the Soviet Peace Committee and the Soviet U.N. Association instructed their representatives to work for an effective coordination of the official and people's diplomacies and for a radical restructuring of international relations in line with new political thinking.

Five deputy mandates, contested by six people, were won, in part, by Gebnrikh Borovik, chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee; Anatoliy Ananyev, his first deputy and a famed writer; and Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia Pimen who gained the largest number of votes. The defeat of Georgiy Arbatov, chairman of the Soviet U.N. Association who heads the United States and Canada Institute, appeared to be unexpected for many. Ten prominent Soviet cultural personalities were elected people's deputies at an enlarged plenary meeting of the USSR Cinematographers' Union. These are authors and cultural workers whose creativity is connected with film-making. The latter include Yegor Yakovlev, editor-in-chief of the newspaper MOSCOW NEWS and screen writer who has been admitted to this artistic union recently. The USSR Society of Film Devotees, a public organisation, elected its deputies at an enlarged plenary meeting on Wednesday. Two candidates contested one deputy mandate but none of them earned the required number of votes, so the society will hold new elections.

The All-Union Academy of Pedagogical Sciences was assigned five mandates but only four candidates gained the required majority of votes.

Trade Unions Elect Deputies

LD2203195589 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov:

One hundred people's deputies were elected from 114 candidates at a plenary meeting of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions in Moscow Wednesday.

The deputies will represent in the USSR Supreme Soviet, the highest power body, the interests of 142 million trade unionists.

The meeting was attended by 850 people, including 453 workers and collective farmers and 296 full-time labour and party functionaries.

During the election campaign, the candidates had a total of 1,199 meetings with trade unionists. The meetings, attended by about 300,000 people and addressed by 6,000, discussed candidates' programmes in a lively and frank manner.

Participants in the meetings proposed passing state laws affecting the interests of the nation only after nationwide referendums.

It was also proposed that trade unions should have a legalised right to veto laws and to stop production processes and the construction of facilities posing a threat to the environment and human health.

There were especially many proposals for raising pensions.

Participants in the meetings spoke about the need to improve working conditions for women, strengthen trade unions' role in fixing prices of goods and food and combat their unjustified growth, and present a decline in the living standards of working people.

Under the new election law, 750 out of 2,250 deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet are elected not by the population but by various public organisations in accordance with quotas set for them.

Radio Reports Trade Union Plenum

LD2303100289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Excerpt] In accordance with the Law on Electing USSR People's Deputies, an expanded All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] plenum took place the other day in the columned hall of the house of unions and elected USSR people's deputies from Soviet trade unions. Here is an interview which Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman and now a USSR people's deputy, gave to our special correspondents after the plenum completed its work.

[Begin Shalayev recording] I think that the plenum completed successfully the trade unions election campaign; 100 USSR people's deputies were elected from trade unions—a large and well-qualified corps of deputies. While 100 deputies were elected today, I cannot help thinking that standing side by side with them are the

18,000 candidates who were nominated in primary trade union organizations during the first stage; they represent great resources for improving the work of trade unions in present-day situations.

Speaking about the results of the elections, I would like to stress that the deputies from among workers and kolkhoz [collective farm] workers were elected practically unanimously today. They account for 44 of the 100. If we add to them trade union staff and specialists who work in labor collectives, they account for more than two thirds. Speaking about those who failed to get the required number of votes today, they are, mainly, trade union functionaries. They include five chairmen of central trade union committees, two chairmen of republican trade union councils, chairmen of republican committees, and a chairman of a rayon committee of the agroprom [Agro-industrial Committee] trade union. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Filmmakers Elect Deputies

LD2203210889 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Ten prominent Soviet cultural workers were today elected people's deputies at an extended plenary meeting of the Union of Film-Makers of the USSR.

The list includes directors Mikhail Belikov (Kiev), Kalje Kyisk (Tallinn), Dmitry Lunkov (Saratov), Tolomush Okeyev (Frunze), Eldar Shengelaya (Tbilisi), script-writer Yuriy Klepikov (Moscow). Among the deputies there are also writers writing for the cinema—Ales Adamovich, Boris Vasilyev, Aleksandr Gelman and Yegor Yakovlev, editor-in-chief of the MOSCOW NEWS, cinema playwright who recently became member of the union.

Under the new Soviet law on elections, which allotted public organisations one-third of the seats in the supreme body of state power, 750 out of a total of 2,250 deputies will be elected not by the population, but by different public associations in accordance with their respective quotas.

The Film-Makers Union was given ten deputy mandates which were claimed by 16 candidates nominated at the preceding plenum of the union's board in January. Each candidate had an opportunity to "stump" the country, to acquaint colleagues with his or her electoral platform, to talk to the press and to go on the air and TV. Besides, yesterday, on the first day of the work of the current plenum, its participants took nine hours to carry out a painstaking discussion of not only the individual programmes but also the personalities of every candidate. In the process, special attention was given not only to the professional merits of the aspirants but primarily to their civic stand, public activity and personal contribution to restructuring.

In their instructions to the deputies, the plenum participants stressed the need for a resolute support for the restructuring, the struggle for a further democratisation of society and a broader openness. In the opinion of the cinema workers, their representatives in the supreme body of state power must take an active part in discussing and solving not only cultural questions but also a broad range of economic, social and ecological problems.

Educators Elect Deputies

LD2303215889 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Four USSR people's deputies were elected on Wednesday at a joint meeting of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and of the Board of the Soviet Association of Pedagogues-Researchers. Under the new Soviet law on election, 750 deputies, or a third of the composition of the supreme body of state authority, are elected by various public organisations in accordance with the quotas assigned to them.

Nine candidates competed for five places allocated for the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the Soviet Association of Pedagogues-Researchers. Only four of the candidates earned enough votes to be elected. Therefore, in accordance with the law on election, these public organisations will have to nominate new candidates for the remaining seat and to hold repeated elections within two months.

The meeting adopted a mandate to USSR people's deputies from the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and from the Soviet Association of Pedagogues-Researchers. The deputies are called upon to press for the increase of state allocations for public education, development of the pedagogical science and consolidation of the basis of teacher-training higher educational establishments of the country.

Rumors About Voting in Moscow Okrug Denied

PM2203160989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with A. Lukyanchikov, chief of Moscow Gorispolkom Soviets' Work Department, by own correspondent V. Shchepotkin under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Rumors Versus Facts"; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Shchepotkin] The IZVESTIYA editorial office is currently swamped with readers' questions about the elections. Particularly many questions relate to the Moscow City National-Territorial Okrug No 1, the biggest in the country, where the one USSR people's deputy seat is being contested by Ye.A. Brakov, director general of the Zil association, and B.N. Yeltsin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosstroy [State Committee for Construction]. First, is it true, L. Karmanova and I. Chulkova, Moscow State University staffers, and

many others ask, that all USSR citizens living abroad are attached to the Moscow City National-Territorial Okrug No 1 as voters? According to some opinions, they number around 1 million people, and according to others almost 1.5 million.

[Lukyanchikov] No, it is not true. Some of the electoral wards of our foreign missions are attached to other electoral okrugs. Polar workers, for instance, are attached to Leningrad. Only around 100,000 voters living abroad are attached to our okrug.

[Shchepotkin] Is this a lot in terms of the okrug?

[Lukyanchikov] Let people judge for themselves. According to preliminary figures, there are 6,700,500 voters in Moscow.

[Shchepotkin] The next question is: Is it true that all military formations stationed abroad are attached to this okrug? The figures that are being cited are comparable to the ones cited earlier.

[Lukyanchikov] No, this is not so. Only servicemen of units stationed in the capital will vote in Moscow City National-Territorial Okrug No 1. Their number is, of course, much smaller than the cited figures. [passage omitted]

Passivity in Preelection Process Lamented

PM2303141189 Moscow IZVESTIYA
22 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[I. Karpenko article under the rubric "Learning Democracy": "Ways We Elect"]

[Excerpts] Those 384 okrugs with a single candidate give no one any rest. Everyone—even those who were opposed—seemed to be campaigning for multiple-candidate seats. But at the finish more than one-fourth of the country's population (199 national-territorial okrugs alone) have ended up at the very point from which they embarked on the present election campaign, following the difficult paths of democracy.

"I will not turn out to 'vote.' The okrug has a single candidate. Why did they adopt the new law, if everything has stayed the same?" many readers write. Or, not so categorically, more diplomatically, but with the same sentiment: "Will agitation workers really go around apartments again and 'bundle' people out to vote? Under the present democracy a person has the right to express his civic attitude toward a candidate by not going to vote. The law does not prohibit this."

True, the law does not prohibit people from not voting, although I am sure that this is nothing to do with democracy. And voting with one's "feet"—what kind of civic stance is this? Agitation workers will not go around apartments. That is definite, I specially ascertained at the Central Electoral Commission.

Perhaps, of course, the new law should have recorded firmly and unequivocally, as many people are now proposing, that at least two candidates are registered in an okrug. But what if there is a leader in a region whose position and talents as a statesman leave no one in any doubt as to who will win? Well then, will it be necessary to "tag on" to him a victim of such a paragraph in the law, who would be knowingly doomed to fail?

Not that it is a matter of the law, clearly, since there will be a multiple choice in the overwhelming majority of okrugs. It is, I believe, a matter of ourselves—we are slowly and with difficulty becoming citizens, and no law, not even the very best one, will do this for us. Anatoliy Agranovskiy once wrote briefly and concisely of an economic reform, one in the past: "There are reforms and reforms, but you still have to work." The legislative reform needs this no less.

Now that we are trotting out, out of laziness and lack of thought, individuals of little distinction [nabivayev shsishki na rovnom meste], this excuse has become fashionable: "But we are learning democracy." We are learning badly. We treat it like a preschool child treats a new toy. While it is interesting, he is absorbed with it—you cannot tear him away. When he has finished playing, he throws it into a corner for a long time. But democracy, so it turns out, is a lady who is agreeable in every respect only to those who are constantly attentive toward her. It was when we forgot this simple truth that okrugs emerged with a single candidate, who, moreover, is not now to everyone's liking.

It is not hard to be convinced of this if we cast our minds back once again over the stages of the present election campaign, not now as novices, but as travelers whose experience of the election campaign has made them wiser. This must be done before the elections. Not for a later reproach or even a lesson for the future, although this, too, is important—elections to republic and local soviets lie ahead. It is necessary in order to make our choice on voting day in a totally conscious and civic way. Precisely a choice, even if there is just one candidate on the ballot paper.

Of course, we had little, very little time to familiarize ourselves with the new law. Probably only now, a few days before the general elections, do you begin to realize the close link in the present election campaign between its end result—whom we elect—and how we elected him.

It seems quite recently that we were discussing the new law and the additions and amendments to the USSR Constitution corresponding to it. We discussed them in an open, partial, and interested way, as we have discussed no document before. Articles were counted in hundreds and thousands, and letters, suggestions, and comments in hundreds of thousands. Everyone understood that we were laying the foundations of a rule-of-law state and of the soviets' sovereignty and outlining political transformations without which, as it has

become obvious, all other transformations are impossible and restructuring slips and slides. The public interest was really exceptionally great.

The Central Electoral Commission was formed 1 December—the democracy of our theoretical constructions began to be verified according to the rigorous rules of practical work. We proved to be psychologically and morally unprepared for this first test. Somehow interest in the events died of its own accord. Everyone seemed to be watching and waiting: What would come of this? How would the law itself start working for democracy? As already stated, such a miracle does not happen in nature. And something unforeseen and unexpected began with the new law's very first act—the formation of electoral commissions, where we proved to be simply onlookers when we ourselves should have been actively involved.

Letters and complaints against okrug commissions are still to this day flooding into the editorial office in a veritable torrent. Almost half of them ask: "Who elected these commissions and how, and why do even the biggest labor collectives know nothing about this?" Indeed—why? Why did all the mass media report nothing about them? I have leafed through all the central and republic newspaper files at my disposal—not a single article on the elections of okrug electoral commissions. At a very useful yet somewhat belated debate at the Social Sciences Academy in mid-February, where republic newspaper journalists employed specially to cover the elections were assembled, the same question was put to the audience. No one could remember or answer.

No, of course the commissions did not arise of their own accord, like mushrooms after rain. We ourselves both nominated and elected their members. Rather, we should have, for we had the right under the law. And we did not take advantage of it.

I can give only one explanation for the situation: We treated the formation of the commissions as a pure formality. We overlooked the essence and "missed" or failed to understand the paragraph in the law which entrusted the entire organization of the elections to okrug and public electoral commissions. All past experience indicated that absolutely nothing depends on them. But it does, and how!

It is sufficient to recall the meeting at the USSR Academy of Sciences with its unexpected stormy finish, protests fired off to every possible quarter, and, finally, the rally at which there was an expression of no confidence in their own electoral commission, which they themselves elected or, I repeat, should have elected. We will have to get used to very diverse forms of democracy, including extreme ones. I believe, however, that they are far safer than the desire to return the elections to the former ritual voting channel for various reasons—these were discussed in the last article. Almost 200 okrugs with a single candidate, and approximately 300 more with two, where the commissions were also too hasty in closing nominations.

In other okrugs, on the other hand, the commissions waited patiently: What would the collectives themselves do, and how would the population organize itself to nominate candidates at places of residence? But sometimes they directly resisted this spontaneous process—one of the most democratic innovations of the Law on Elections. In short, half the time allocated for nominating candidates was lost. Again because we ourselves did not yet know how to be proper citizens.

I am sure that next time, and even during repeat elections this time (they have already been determined in certain public organizations), a struggle will be mounted for the right of representation on electoral commissions, and there will be multiple candidacies here, too. For too much now depends on them in the election campaign—its whole atmosphere, mood, and rhythm. [passage omitted]

It is futile and pointless to cast doubt on the law and criticize it while it is functioning. Generally, there can only be such talk after the elections. Now it is necessary to fulfill the law. Strictly, unconditionally.

Therefore I am deliberately avoiding all the reefs and sandbanks of the existing legislation. I am speaking only of those complex aspects of the election campaign which we were prevented from using in the interests of democracy only by our own lack of civic activeness. And also of the system of sifting candidates, which presupposed their multiple candidacy but, for the same reason, in many ways failed to achieve this. For the results of the okrug preelection meetings also gave us almost 200 okrugs with a single candidate. And it is probably no secret that very much here depended not only on the two halves of collectives' representatives—those who nominated and those who did not—but also on those selfsame okrug electoral commissions.

The preelection struggle must not be a high-society party, where gentlemen compete to be civil or, like Gogol's Dobchinskiy and Bobchinskiy, vie with one another to let the other always go first. It is a struggle, it really is a struggle.

Of course, any aspirant or his team has the right to use the means of agitation available to them. But what can you say of a situation where one candidate does not have even a dozen representatives from the collectives which nominated him, while another has 150 enterprises, the party and economic aktiv, and, as a rule, the sympathies of the okrug commission? Or, for example, how are we to assess a properly printed appeal to voters, published in large numbers and signed by rayon soviet deputies, to

vote for a certain candidate, although there are several candidates in the okrugs? All this hardly tallies with the law's requirement that candidates be afforded equal opportunities.

When paragraphs directly cited in the law are violated, all is simple and clear here: Measures must be taken immediately to restore legality and justice. But it is a question of something else. Now that elections are becoming one of the most important political actions in social life and in the formation of a rule-of-law state, it is necessary to publicly and openly place on the agenda the question of the norms of political morality and the methods and forms of participation in election campaigns for party and soviet organs and labor collective councils. Without their participation we are in general not yet able to hold elections—that much is obvious. But, naturally, this participation should be clearly regulated by the law to wholly rule out any possibility of painstaking organizational and ideological work being replaced by the former methods of pressure, the quota system, or the edict style. And this is probably one of the hardest tasks—remodeling oneself and learning the new principles of political work in the complex circumstances of today's meetings and rallies. It is not just ordinary voters who need to learn to be citizens.

In this regard we should consider one feature of the institution of okrug meetings. Nobody today can question the competence of their decisions on candidate registration. Even in those okrugs where a contested election failed to materialize [gde utrachena alternativnost vyborov]. The Central Electoral Commission ratified the protocols of all the meetings, candidate registration has been completed, and all mistakes and deviations from the letter of the law have been rectified. Moreover, I am sincerely convinced of the honesty, principledness, and desire for objectivity of the overwhelming majority of commission members. And yet....

We are still not very good citizens, although the current elections have done much to remedy this. We have so far learned only to talk about glasnost, pluralism, and democracy. Everyone today knows all about the "political" okrugs and the scandalous meetings and rallies. Right down to trifling details that did not actually exist.

But try asking neighbors or workmates what they know about the candidates and their programs in their own okrug.

I did. THe result was depressing—of the 50-odd people I asked, only 7 knew the candidates' names and only 3 could say anything meaningful about the programs of those for whom they are about to vote in a week's time.

We should not keep on talking about democracy....

...There is not much time left before the general election. And yet there is still time to think and learn everything possible about our candidates. And the choice will have to be made conscientiously: not with our feet but with our heads. We should think again about today's entire unusual election campaign. And about the fact that the reality of democratizing society and a rule-of-law state is determined by our civic awareness.

Shevardnadze on Glasnost in Diplomacy, Journalism

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[Interview with E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, by IZVESTIYA special correspondent I. Golembiovskiy, "on the plane home after another mission abroad": "Extent of Responsibility"; date not given; first three paragraphs are Golembiovskiy introduction]

[Text] The minister only managed to find time for our interview on the plane, on the way home after another mission abroad. We talked at an altitude that was symbolically appropriate for an overview of our planet's difficult life, but I was interested in a less global question—how does our foreign policy department live and work in the days of glasnost and restructuring?

Even I, a newspaperman used to intensive daily work, was struck by the intensiveness of the tour: two or three rounds of talks a day, prompt work on the records of the talks while they were still fresh, a report to Moscow, news conferences, briefings, speeches—to the staffers of our embassies, among others—analysis of the meetings held, preparations for the next.

The diplomats slept 3 hours in every 24. What we see on the television screen—smiles, handshakes, meetings, send-offs—all this protocol ritual tells the uninitiated little about the content of diplomatic work. It is not even the tip of the iceberg, the essence of the diplomats' work is hidden from view, and we can only guess at it when we read the terse lines of official reports.

[Golembiovskiy] Eduard Amvrosiyevich! We journalists and our readers only come across the results of diplomatic activity. Spending a few days on tour, I was able to observe how intensively the delegation and our embassies worked, how dramatically the situation developed, what unexpected turns it took, demanding immediate responses. Journalists rarely see this, diplomats prefer not to expound on it. Therefore very superficial, not to say distorted, ideas grow up about diplomacy. The general task of diplomacy is clear—to defend your positions, your view of the order of things, but few people know who defines this position and how it is defended. Recent years have given us a good many examples in which our positions were out of the ordinary, nontraditional, which led, as we also know, to many developments in the present-day international situation. I would therefore like to begin our talk with this question: Is glasnost possible in such an unusual sphere as diplomacy?

[Shevardnadze] There cannot be absolute glasnost in diplomatic work, or in many other professions. The concept of professional confidentiality did not spring up at the whim of professionals—doctors, lawyers, teachers, or you journalists, for instance. This confidentiality arises by virtue of the internal principles, often moral and ethical, of the trade itself, which dictate very strict norms of behavior.

They are especially strict in diplomacy, where professional secrecy is also state secrecy. Not always, and not only, your own state's secrets. You are engaged in confidential talks with a partner or opponent, he tells you something that affects the national interests of your country, his own, or a third country.... How can you give wide publicity to what he says? It is no accident that at the end of the talks the "sides" ask each other: "What shall we tell the press?" In other words, how much of what was said at the talks can be published?

Yes, it is sometimes necessary to measure out meager drops of glasnost, and to do so even when total glasnost would enable you to demonstrate the morality of your own position. In politics, as in life, there are poses and there is action. It is very easy to adopt a pose of moral infallibility, but if people and their interests suffer as a result, that will in fact be immoral, both in politics and in life.

But that is not the whole answer to your question, because it is much wider, it seems to me, than the problem of glasnost we have touched on. I would prefer to see it in the context of general ideas about diplomacy and its democratization in the context of our current restructuring. Here mention must certainly be made of the mechanism for adopting foreign policy decisions. This is because how this mechanism is adjusted and how it operates enables us to judge the degree of democratic orientation of policy in general and diplomacy in particular.

Let me say in this connection that the main task of diplomacy is to ensure the normal activity of the state in the international arena as a sovereign, independent formation, with territorial integrity, in the most favorable possible conditions for its political and socioeconomic development. In other words, it is incumbent on diplomacy to do everything to promote the country's domestic progress, and that means establishing and improving mutual relations between the state and the outside world.

If diplomacy does not do this, it is not diplomacy, but something quite different. If it is intolerant of different opinions, confrontational in its approach, excessively bound by taboos, and inclined towrd dogmatic shamanism, if it drives people away from its country rather than attracting friends, then it is not fulfilling its most important functions—helping to establish the state in the world community and helping it to adapt to the international environment, while influencing that environment and making it as comfortable as possible for the homeland.

But the principles, the means by which diplomacy realizes its objectives, are no less important. It cannot fulfill them successfully outside the context of common human interests, the priority of those interests, or without complying with the principles of equality and reciprocity, freedom of choice, equivalent security, and the balance of interests. That is the essence of the new political thinking. It also requires Soviet diplomacy to explain itself to the people and obliges it to structure its activity directly in accordance with their good, their benefit, their interests; to give an account of itself to them and answer to them for its actions.

The reform of the political system and the establishment of real people's power will give this moral duty the character and force of a legal norm. The creation of a mechanism of constitutional powers will make it possible to democratize the process of adoption of fundamental foreign policy decisions in such a way that no such decision will escape the notice of the elected representatives of the people.

The new statute of the Supreme Soviet, whose deputies we are soon to elect, also means, in essence, new forms of glasnost in foreign policy and diplomacy. I foresee as normal practice open hearings on various international problems, answers by USSR Foreign Ministry leaders—including the minister—to informal questions from deputies, referendums and public opinion polls before fundamental decisions are adopted. I foresee this, and also I insist on it, because in this way the operation of the constitutional mechanism of the formation of foreign policy by the whole people will be ensured.

But even the newly created mechanism will not and cannot function without certain exceptions as regards glasnost, because there are things that, for understandable reasons, have to be discussed at closed sessions and hearings.

While I am on the subject of democratization of the process of foreign policy decisionmaking as a basic component of the democratization of the foreign policy service, I would like to give some indication of the procedure itself. Here I can identify two levels.

Defining and shaping the country's foreign policy course is the function of the party and state leadership. I have a fair knowledge of history and I study archive materials quite often, and I cannot think of any other period when the CPSU Central Committee Politburo studied foreign policy questions so intensively, on a scientific and collective basis. The adoption of decisions on these questions is an exceptionally interesting and profoundly creative process in which all members of the political leadership participate.

The initiative for all the most important foreign policy acts comes from the Politburo and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

In some priority areas the Politburo has a practice of setting up working parties and commissions. The commission coordinating the formulation of positions at disarmament talks is one of these, for instance. Or the working party on human rights, the commission on Afghanistan, and others that prepare proposals and draft decisions for the Politburo.

As for the second level, here I have in mind our Foreign Ministry "kitchen."

Here too the process of draft formulation of positions, so to speak, should be democratic, that is the main guarantee that the decision will be substantiated and correct. Here, as never before, the comparing of views takes place in polemical form, disputes flare up, opinions clash. This is in a sense a new characteristic of our department's work. Nowadays everyone who is capable of thinking keenly and unconventionally, who knows how to analyze, who can understand the nature of the new political thinking and the Soviet Union's new approach to present-day phenomena and events in international life, participates in the formulation of positions. This is a complex process, and merely to say that it is a creative process is probably inadequate.

You are right: The arena in which the struggle of opinions is played out is hidden from the view of outsiders. But it exists today and is, I believe, the main component of the democratization of the diplomatic service that has begun. I will not claim that we have totally eradicated bad practice and administrative methods, but the foundations of democratism are laid, and will develop.

[Golembiovskiy] What you say rather destroys the widespread view of the diplomatic service as a closed sphere of activity of select professionals. However, we journalists know from readers' letters and from personal experience that in the mass consciousness it is seen as a sphere which ignores public opinion by virtue of its specific nature. The reasons for this are not difficult to guess. We have said earlier that the greater part of diplomatic work is invisible; people only hear about its results, and therefore they get the impression that their viewpoint is not taken into account. But what does actually happen? Does the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs take notice of public opinion? Does it rely on it, does it take account of alternative thinking?

[Shevardnadze] I cannot imagine diplomatic work without a serious and close study of public opinion. In general, the latter is to an ever increasing degree becoming the real catalyst of society's general political state of health.

Restructuring has created a situation in the country whereby no one can ignore public opinion. They would not dare, and to an ever increasing degree it is beginning to play an essential role in state activity. We diplomats are no less keenly aware of this than, say, the leaders of economic departments.

That is one side of the coin. The other side is that, while taking account of public opinion, we do not intend to play up to it. If we see that people are misguided because they are insufficiently informed, or by dint of adhering to traditional views, or for other reasons, then we must not appeasingly agree with them but must continue steadily on our course. It is our task to convince them that we are right, to mold public opinion in favor of scientifically substantiated decisions.

We are only at the beginning. At present, when we adopt decisions we often do not know how public opinion will react to them. However, there are circumstances where it is necessary to act without delay, to act resolutely and promptly. In the future we are hoping to put a system into place where public opinion will anticipate our actions rather than lag behind them.

What has been achieved in this area? A center for the study of public opinion has been set up at the ministry. The USSR Academy of Sciences and its Sociology Institute have helped organize it. A new subdivision of ours—the Scientific Coordination Center—is also geared to reinforcing ties with the public. We cannot act impulsively; diplomats need serious fundamental research as a basis for broad discussions, on the basis of which cardinal decisions are to be adopted. By its very nature diplomatic work is organically and inseparably linked with all aspects of social life, and the bitter experience of the years of stagnation, when we lulled ourselves with the illusion of an unchangeable world, is making us switch without delay from subjective conjectures to scientific projections.

[Golembiovskiy] Any diplomatic action is an act of state. Many departments and legislative organs take part in its elaboration. I suppose some of them approach it from the angle of their interests. At the same time, foreign policy is an integrated process rather than a chain of events, a process in which each event, no matter where it occurs or whatever its complexion, has a profound, shared meaning and is geared to the overall task. Do diplomats meet with understanding in other departments and organizations?

[Shevardnadze] The process of democratization is also characteristic of interdepartmental relations today. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs cannot operate on its own. Formulating foreign policy, you understand, is not a matter for diplomats alone. Decisions are made collectively, with the participation of many sides. That is the only correct way.

Any other way, where decisions are adopted in secret, willfully, or by a narrow circle of leaders without taking account of the opinion of specialists and experts, without a scientific forecast of their consequences, is flawed in its very basis.

Take Afghanistan: The decision to send troops into that country was made behind closed doors by a few of the country's top leaders. As a candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo at the time, I—just like some of my comrades and colleagues—was simply presented with the fact.

I am convinced that had these crude violations of the norms of party and state ethics not occurred, had this question been examined with the participation of competent experts in various fields, it would have been possible even then to come to the conclusion that a military solution to the Afghan problem did not exist.

It was this conclusion which formed the basis of the decision of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union to withdraw our forces and to honestly and strictly abide by the Geneva accords.

It is no accident that the new edition of the USSR Constitution states that a decision to use armed forces beyond the national borders must be sanctioned by the country's Supreme Soviet.

But this is not the only point. There are guidelines, values, and ideals from which we cannot depart under any circumstances. A policy that does not serve humane aims is amoral. Our foreign policy, I hope you will agree, is profoundly moral. After all, what principles do we proclaim and what do we uphold in the international arena? The priority of universal human values, the supremacy of the law and consequently the defense of human rights, the overcoming of confrontation, and the consolidation of the international community for the sake of the preservation of civilization—is there anything that is more moral!

I already mentioned earlier how the system of the formulation and adoption of decisions within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has changed. In interdepartmental relations it is based on taking account of the opinions of all interested parties, while respecting, nevertheless, the priority of statewide interests declared at the highest political level.

That is the main thing; that is what all the "sides" are guided by. That does not, of course, rule out sharp disputes inasmuch as any of the "sides" may have its own perception of ways to ensure statewide interests. However, the very fact that the debates take place, that a democratic system for the adoption of decisions has been created, guarantees an effective comparison of the arguments and consequently a correct course of action.

In this context I recall the preparations for the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. It was not just that all the specialists did not immediately support the idea that was put forward; the public too had its doubts. And they, it must be mentioned, played their role because they made us constantly weigh the consequences and try to find the most cogent arguments in favor of the treaty.

Now that the treaty is in force, all foreign policy departments can claim some credit: The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles liquidated the second strategic front, moved a dangerous U.S. nuclear presence away from our borders, and—in the longer term—removed from U.S. military circles the temptation to site two classes of missiles anywhere in the world.

Working in conditions of glasnost, you always have to be prepared to listen to another opinion, to let it coexist with your own views on the basis of patience, unprejudiced approaches, and a desire to find the best options. The diversity of approaches is the best way to neutralize egoistic or group ambitions and to place state interests first and foremost. As a result we ourselves, the participants in these discussions, grow politically and intellectually, standards of collaboration are formulated, and expert knowledge is enhanced.

However, it is necessary to go further. Foreign policy decisions made at the highest level must be correspondingly implemented at all other levels. In other words, the principles of high politics must become facts of everyday life. However, this has not yet become the norm, as is demanded by the interests of the rule-of-law state which we have jointly embarked on building. It is evident that the braking mechanism of inertia is at work, based on a different interpretation of state acts: This is for external consumption, that is for internal consumption. We all, from the leader to the executive, must realize clearly once and for all that our foreign policy steps do not pursue short-term aims and transitory advantages, they are not taken under pressure or speculation from outside, but are dictated by the interests of the people and accord with the ideals and principles of the socialist society.

[Golembiovskiy] In discussing our diplomacy, we cannot overlook the work of Soviet embassies. I need hardly expound on their role and significance—it is probably sufficient to say that without them there can be no diplomacy as such. In my view, which might not be quite that of an expert, the process of renewal in the ministry apparatus is proceeding intensively, but the embassies are far removed from the capital.... Therefore I would be interested to learn how restructuring is proceeding in our embassies.

[Shevardnadze] We have fine embassy collectives, which I could call laboratories of innovative diplomatic thinking. Incidentally, the growing prestige of our foreign

policy and diplomacy, about which your foreign colleagues are now writing such a great deal, is in many ways linked with the work of Soviet embassies.

But I would not present the general state of affairs in a rosy hue. There are problems, many of them. We have already begun a public debate on the embassies' activities, and next fall we intend to hold a scientific and practical conference on this topic.

In my view, the chief problem is this: a narrow view of ourselves. The embassies see themselves as authorities on managing affairs with their host countries. I won't even mention the fact that this view is not always valid. The embassies, in our opinion, are obliged to be coformulators of the regional and global components of the foreign policy course.

The significance, nature, and scale of what is happening in the zone of our responsibility—in world politics—are not always realized behind everyday affairs. The persisting habit of being satisfied with recording external, easily observable signs of change is still harmful.

The saddest thing is the inability to translate the principles of the new political thinking into practical language. In other words, many of our diplomats are capable of explaining intelligently what is meant by the priority of common human values, the balance of interests, the supremacy of international law, and freedom of choice, but by no means all of them are able to apply these to the specific area of his own activity.

The ability to apply the principles of the new political thinking in specific workplaces and to specific sectors and areas of work as an everyday working tool and not just as a philosophical category must be the aim and the ideal for every diplomat. Then we will achieve a situation in which practical diplomacy will independently prepare the ground for bold political decisions at the highest level, and not be slowly dragged toward these decisions, losing precious time.

[Golembiovskiy] Another question. I know, Eduard Amvrosiyevich, that you frequently meet willingly with journalists. Unfortunately, with foreign ones. We are failing to break the inertia. I also know that journalists like the respect you show for their work, and your openness and congeniality. But what impression do journalists make on you? What role do you give to the press in foreign policy?

[Shevardnadze] Without the press, television, radio, magazines—in short, without the mass media and, finally, without the press corps—there is no foreign policy or diplomacy. Do not think this a fine phrase. Just think about this. We seek to make high politics as open as possible, proceeding from the chief principle that we express the people's will and, consequently, must reckon on reliable feedback. Without it diplomacy becomes a corporative matter, a thing within itself. The press is the chief tool of glasnost, the chief link, without which the whole chain breaks.

Diplomats are interested in close cooperation with journalists. You know we have invited leading journalists specializing in international affairs to our scientific and practical conference, we are accrediting a group of journalists to the Foreign Ministry, and we have opened wide to them the doors of our "kitchen." Some things have moved and changed in relations with the press, and in press and television coverage itself of problems of international life.

On the whole, however, the old stereotypes prevail. I am, unfortunately, also convinced of this by my experience of contacts with the foreign press.

Abroad I constantly feel the presence of the press. I do not avoid meetings with it, but I must point out that I never seek them either, because the press is always on the spot, even when the program of my stay is kept profoundly secret.

Always, in any situation, your foreign colleagues are ready to ask a question—and, you know, these questions are not always pleasant. You do not want to answer some of them, but you must not fail to answer them, for that would at once be interpreted not in your country's favor.

I admire reporters' devotion to their work. I remember working with Secretary of State Shultz in Washington far into the night. A very delicate problem was being discussed at that time. The solution to it just could not be found, and under those conditions I did not much wish to speak of it in public. Shultz understood that. In order to avoid a meeting with the press he suggested taking me out through the State Department's basement; I agreed. It was pouring with rain, but I was just driving up to the residence when I noticed a huge crowd of journalists. I had to communicate with them.

You understand that what we are talking about here is not the attitude toward my person but toward our cause, our country, restructuring, and its role in the modern world. As a citizen of my country, I am profoundly grateful to these people for their devotion to their professional duty—that of conveying information on the Soviet stance to their readers or viewers as quickly as possible, at any hour of the day or night.

They are active in disseminating news, and therefore news occupies people's minds. They know how to show their reader, listener, or viewer—in short, the ordinary citizen—how a particular international situation or a particular turn in it will affect and influence his life. In other words, politics and politicians are brought really close to those for whose sake they exist—to individuals, the public, the people.

Striking changes have taken place in our press recently. It has begun acting more promptly, professionally, interestingly, and diversely. But there is still scope for movement toward higher standards. There are common omissions here—by both the press and diplomacy. Sometimes we either get away with propaganda cliches or display the arrogant erudition of experts too lazy to come down from on high and explain intelligibly to someone what the conclusion of the Geneva agreements, the signing of the treaty on intermediate-and shorter-range missiles, or the successful completion of the Vienna meeting means for him and for our entire people. In short, in our international journalism, as well as in diplomacy, incidentally, I feel the human scale is palpably lacking....

[Golembiovskiy] But how can it be there, Eduard Amvrosiyevich, if information on your talks and visits is disseminated exclusively through TASS channels? If we are not permitted to deviate from approved formulas, and attempts to express our own opinion—about Afghanistan, let us say—meet with a negative response, from the Foreign Ministry included? If some of our articles give rise to diplomatic demarches?

[Shevardnadze] But look... Can we ignore what effect our word will have—in Afghanistan, in the ranks of those fighting against the opposition, or in a country with which we have traditionally friendly relations? Can we not ponder this in conditions when the printed word—there are examples before our eyes—blows up and disrupts the world?

If you and I are politicians, political figures—and journalism is undoubtedly a specific kind of politics—we do not have the right to campaign for an unlimited monopoly on the autonomous nature of our judgments.

In the superhigh-risk zone of international and interstate relations, it is necessary to behave responsibly. This responsibility is by no means a synonym for timorous caution or insouciant adaptation to the "supreme opinion." It is simply necessary to know and understand the professional priorities of diplomacy, while we diplomats must know and understand your professional priorities. In other words, take the "balance of interests" into mutual account, but with primacy definitely going to the interests of the country and the people. We must cooperate. The task here is twofold: to introduce pluralism of opinions and assessments into our international journalism and to introduce the ideas, passion, vision, and erudition of journalists into foreign policy.

It is all a question of how to introduce this. This complex problem certainly does not boil down to how we perceive criticism at the Foreign Ministry. I have said and am ready to repeat: Journalists criticize us, and we criticize journalists, which means that something really is changing. But let us remember that glasnost in international journalism has the same main criterion as medicine does: Do not cause harm. Therefore our joint work must be built on mutual respect and trust—for we operate in the same zone of responsibility.

Maslyukov Addresses News Conference on Economy

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[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The purpose of a draft for principles to reorganise the management of the economy and the social sphere in republics by extending their sovereign rights, self-government and self-financing is to work out a legal machinery to uphold the interests of Soviet Union republics and regions.

The draft is now under discussion in the Soviet Union, Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said on Wednesday at a news conference organised by the Information Department of the Soviet Government.

Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, is heading a commission for the elaboration of such principles. He emphasised that "the main component of the economic management—state-run enterprises and cooperatives—now have extensive rights and economic independence while the republics have no such rights."

This is why it is essential considerably to broaden the economic independence of the republics. Work in this respect, Maslyukov said, is being continued and is indissolubly connected with the current reform of the political system.

Maslyukov pointed out that "at a certain stage of the country's development, there occurred a substantial deformation of the sovereign rights of the union republics. Many functions of theirs were assumed at the centre, as a result of which the diktat of the union ministries and departments increased. "This led in particular to serious disproportions between the productive forces and the social sphere of the republics and complicated the ecological situation in a number of regions.

Speaking of the commission for the elaboration of principles for the management of the economy and the social sphere in the republics, Maslyukov said that the commission includes the first deputy chairmen of the republican councils of ministers, legal scholars, economists, and representtives of trade unions, and that the published draft is the product of keen discussions.

According to Maslyukov, problems concerning the delineation of the powers of the central authority and the union republics, the making of conditions for the formation of republican budgets, and guidance over scientific and technological progress and others were the principal subjects of discussion at the meetings of the commission.

As a result of countrywide discussion of problems concerning the development of the republics and regions of the country will be used as a basis for a law on their self-government and self-financing, Maslyukov said. [sentence as received]

Group Demands Ban on Kazakhstan Nuclear Tests
LD2203085789 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Alma Ata March 22 TASS—The first donations came in today to account 700844 which had been opened by the "Nevada" public movement in Kazakhstan, a Soviet Asian republic.

This new public organization is aiming to secure an end to the production and testing of nuclear weapons and a ban on underground nuclear explosions on the territory of Kazakhstan. Olzhas Suleimenov, a prominent poet, a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, had been elected the organization's chairman.

"The world associated a good deal of hopes with the Soviet nuclear tests unilateral moratorium announced in 1986 by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee," the poet told TASS correspondent.

"The Kazakhstan steppe had a year-long respite from the ruinous experiments. Throughout the period my fellow countrymen, just as all ordinary people around the world, hopefully waited for a response from across the ocean. However, the only thing we heard was the echo of Nevada nuclear detonations."

"This is why the Kazakhstan public organized a movement for an end to nuclear tests in the area of Semipalatinsk. It has been given the name Nevada. Thereby we want to emphasize that we shall be able to attain our goal only with support from U.S. peace forces. All peoples would benefit from that. I am calling on the Americans to direct the entire power of their social influence towards banning nuclear tests in Nevada."

Alzhas Suleimenov said the participants in the movement came forward with demands to close nuclear test sites down, to begin work to phase out the plants which produce nuclear materials for military purposes, and to carry out public inspections of stations for the dumping of radioactive wastes.

Earthquake Causes 'Extensive' Damage in Kirghiz
NC2303084889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Here is a report from Frunze:

An earthquake occurred in the mountains of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] at 0435 Moscow time today. The epicenter of the tremors was in (?Ugyut), which is 160 km to the southwest of Naryn in the [word indistinct] mountains.

According to the Frunze [word indistinct] center of the Kirgiz SSR Academy of Sciences Seismology Institute, the strength of the earthquake at its epicenter was 6 points. Because the mountains reduce the strength of the (?shock waves), the underground tremors were not felt in Naryn. However, tremors were recorded at force 3 to 4 in (?Kazarman) and at force 3 in [name indistinct].

Damage is reported to be extensive.

Kirghiz Communist Party Holds 25 Feb Plenum
PM1703094589 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held on 25 February 1989.

The first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms, the leaders of republican ministries and departments, the chairmen of oblispolkoms, gorispolkoms, and rayispolkoms not belonging to the Central Committee, and a number of secretaries of party committees and primary party organizations, representatives of the mass media, and responsible workers of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee and Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers were invited to the plenum.

The plenum discussed the question of "the tasks of the republic's party organizations to step up the political leadership of restructuring."

A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the Central Committee Bureau report on this issue.

The following took part in the debates: D.B. Amanbayev, first secretary of the Issyk-Kul party obkom; L.V. Bogacheva, weaver at the Osh cotton association named for the 50th anniversary of October; U.K. Chinaliyev, first secretary of the Frunze party gorkom; A.M. Tarakanov, first secretary of the Kantskiy party raykom; R.S. Kulmatov, first secretary of the Osh party obkom; G.A. Manuylova, leader of a team of painters at the "FrunzeKPDproyektstroy" association; T. Ishemkulov, editor of the newspaper SOVETTIK KYRGYZSTAN; R.Ya. Shchekoturova, operator at the Ak-Suyskiy sugar combine; K. Aknazarov, first secretary of the Kochkorskiy party raykom; Yu.T. Shustikov, secretary of the Kirghiz trade unions council; M. Aseynov, first deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers; K. Kyshtobayev, deputy chairman of the board of the republican

"Znaniye" society organization; S.R. Sarkarova, mixed team leader at the Lenin kolkhoz, Aravanskiy Rayon; B.I. Silayev, first secretary of Frunze City's Oktyabrskiy party raykom; N.A. Kokhanov, editor of the journal SELSKOYE KHOZYAYTSVO KIRGIZII; M.M. Mirrakhimov, director of the Kirghiz Scientific Research Institute of Cardiology; K.A. Turganov, first secretary of the Sokulukskiy party raykom; M. Ibrayev, first secretary of the Tokmak party gorkom; S.A. Medvedyev, director of the Kirghiz mining and metallurgical combine; A.K. Sultanov, deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Nature Conservation; N.I. Isanov, chairman of the Issyk-Kul Oblispolkom; A.P. Khrestenkov, member of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee; Zh. Tuleberdiyev, general director of the "Kirgizenergo" production association; O.A. Isayev, first secretary of the Alamedinskiy party raykom; and N.V. Bagrov, sector chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadres Work Department.

A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the concluding speech.

A resolution was adopted on the question discussed.

The plenum formed four commissions of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee: a commission for questions of organizational-party and cadres work, an ideological commission, a commission on questions of socioeconomic development, and a commission on questions of agrarian policy.

The plenum examined organizational questions.

The plenum elected T. Akmatov a member of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, coopting him as a member of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum elected A. Zhunusov a member of the bureau and secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, coopting him as a member of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum relieved V.A. Ryabokon of his duties as a member of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and withdrew him from membership in the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his transfer to other work and departure from the republic.

The plenum relieved R.I. Otunbayeva of her duties as a candidate member of the Central Committee Bureau and withdrew her from membership in the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee in connection with her transfer to other work and departure from the republic.

The plenum promoted Sh.B. Aldasheva, A. Isabayev, and R.I. Roshchupkina from candidate members to members of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum approved the following as chiefs of Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee departments: T. Chyngyshev as chief of the socioeconomic department, V.G. Mamontov as chief of the agrarian department, B.B. Ishimov as chief of the department of state and law, and A. Artykov as administrator of affairs of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee.

With that the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Plenum completed its work.

Ouster of Uzbek President Discussed

PM2203151189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Correspondent V. Artemenko report: "Unworthy President: That Was the Conclusion of Uzbek Supreme Soviet Deputies"]

[Text] Tashkent—Recently an extraordinary session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet relieved P. Khabibullayev of his duties as chairman of the republic's supreme soviet presidium. A report on his unsavory activity was delivered to the session by R. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. The deputies unanimously accepted the president's resignation and called for a thorough restructuring of the soviet's work. What has happened in Tashkent?

For many people the news was not unexpected. At the Sabir-Rakhimovskiy Rayon party conference and later at the Tashkent city party conference, M. Zakhidov, senior lecturer at Tashkent University, voiced sharp criticism of Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Khabibullayev. He told the audience that this man, when working as director of the Institute of Nuclear Physics and vice president and later president of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, committed a number of scientific and administrative violations. P. Khabibullayev did not abandon his old ways in his new post as "president of the republic"....

The republic Communist Party Central Committee set up a commission to verify M. Zakhidov's allegations. Then, as I have already said, the extraordinary session relieved P. Khabibullayev of his duties.

...In the past fortune always smiled on Pulat Kirgizbayevich. Long ago he grasped the principle that if you please the bosses, you'll be all right. Indeed, flattery and servility worked perfectly. Thus Khabibullayev decided to install relatives of the republic's leaders in good jobs, people such as A. Muminov, son-in-law of former Central Committee First Secretary Sh. Rashidov. Muminov was immediately elected secretary of the party committee of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of

Nuclear Physics, where Khabibullayev had previously been director. Then Khabibullayev appointed Rashidov's son-in-law as his first deputy, began publishing works in the press in coauthorship with him, and provided him with a GAZ-24 car, even though he already had one—all in circumvention of the existing regulation and without the trade union committee's okay.

In addition to A. Muminov, Pulat Kirgizbayevich gave protection to V. Khudayberdyyev—son of the former chairman of the Council of Ministers. After graduating from university, Khudayberdyyev rose rapidly up the official ladder—in a short while he was appointed first junior, then senior scientific staffer, and he subsequently became laboratory chief without taking a higher degree. He also rose in the social sphere.

President of the Academy P. Khabibullayev also did a favor for I. Usmankhodzhayev, Rashidov's successor, when, without holding a competition for the post, he appointed Usmankhodzhayev's wife—a housewife—as junior scientific staffer in the biological radiochemistry group. He soon raised her pay, even though she did no scientific work at all. The "first lady of the republic" produced no reports, did no work at all, and spent most of her time accompanying her husband on official business. Even when she was taking the waters at Karlovy Vary it was counted as work and she was paid for it. Almost R6,000 were unlawfully amassed in 3 years.

Nor did Pulat Kirgizbayevich neglect himself. Once he became leader of the academy he had more time for... creative work. This became apparent from the number of scientific works published. Whereas before entering the academy's presidium he published (coauthored!) between 3 and 19 works a year, afterward the figure rose to over 40. In all, P. Khabibullayev put his name to more than 300 scientific publications, often works in areas of science in which he did not specialize.

Many scientists view the academy president's productivity as academic immodesty, to put it mildly. His greedy and indiscriminating nature undoubtedly did science a disservice. The academy's work remains mediocre and the practical contribution of its scientists to the development of the republic's national economy is inadequate.

"For a long time science in the republic was in the hands of functionaries," Doctor of Physical-Mathematical Sciences G. Chernov believes. "Our Academy of Sciences was packed with professionally unsuitable and creatively unproductive people who thought only of their careers. There is nothing you can do with such people because those who helped them still occupy many of the leading posts in the academy and a number of its institutions. They are a significant obstacle to eliminating stagnation in the republic's scientific and technical progress."

Many people today are asking: What—the man wasn't up to his job at the Academy of Sciences, and moreover, he actually neglected matters, yet he is made president of the republic? The people who were involved in some way in this promotion explained to me that they hoped that P. Khabibullayev would mend his ways in his new post and behave differently. Indeed, he greeted his new appointment with enthusiasm, but he hardly changed at all. Even before this Khabibullayev had been arrogant and disrespectful to his subordinates. He behaved differently toward his superiors.... But now those two qualities became even more pronounced in him. He cut himself off completely from his subordinates while continuing to fawn on his superiors.

When he became chairman of the republic's supreme soviet presidium, P. Khabibullayev donned white gloves, so to speak. He avoided real work, hardly ever toured the republic, and instead made more frequent trips abroad and to Moscow. He bothered little with questions of the republic's socioeconomic and cultural development and was mainly concerned with his own well-being.

It is no secret that the moral and ethical atmosphere in Uzbekistan remains complex. Rashidov's hangers-on have not surrendered, and embezzlers and nationalists are bristling with anger. During this complex time many people pinned great hopes on the president of the republic. They wanted him to be an active champion of restructuring, but he did not once condemn the actions of Rashidov, Usmankhodzhayev, Abullayeva, and other local leaders of stagnation in any public pronouncement. He made a big show of rejecting negative phenomena in Uzbekistan but in practice did nothing to eradicate them.

In brief, P. Khabibullayev was neither a politician nor a statesman. He did not have the necessary qualities for that: party-mindedness, principle, and commitment. The events of his last few days in that high office confirmed that fact. When he learned about M. Zakhidov's speeches at the rayon and city party conferences, he immediately turned to the republic Communist Party Central Committee and demanded that the "slanderer" be punished. He did not wait for the results of the Central Committee team's work or listen to any conclusions but immediately flew to Moscow and asked for a commission from the center to intervene in his case.

Two days after M. Zakhidov's speech at the city party conference, a group of prominent scientists from the republic, headed by E. Yusupov, vice president of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, sent a letter to the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee defending P. Khabibullayev. Academicians visited their colleagues at home and gathered signatures, even from those who were in the hospital. Seeing this support from apparently quite respected former colleagues, P. Khabibullayev really gritted his teeth—he would not give explanations to the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee commission examining his complaint against the "slanderer" M. Zakhidov. Even at the Central Committee

Bureau session which summed up the results of the commission's work he behaved provocatively, going as far as to call himself... the head of state.

Khabibullayev's story is a depressing one. Once more the question is why did it happen: How did a man who for many years resorted to servility and toadying and who showed immodesty in his scientific work manage to gain a high state post when restructuring was at its height? After all, long before he entered that office the Communist Party Central Committee and the government of the republic had received warning signals about the unseemly activity of the president of the Academy of Sciences. Back in July 1986, PRAVDA made some uncomplimentary remarks about P. Khabibullayev, stressing that criticism, to put it mildly, has no effect on him. So why, when Moscow needed a character reference for the new presidential candidate, did Tashkent tone it down and hide the true face of its nominee?

I have not received a direct answer to these direct questions. At the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee they explained to me that the cadre situation in the republic is difficult—it is easy to make a mistake when appointing a particular candidate. Yes, the cadre situation in Uzbekistan is difficult now. Throwbacks to the past have still not been completely eradicated here and many high posts are still occupied by people who long for the days of Rashidov. Young forces have not matured yet. But they make so many mistakes with their promotions here!

I. Iskanderov, a prominent scientist, was appointed chairman of the republic's gosplan. He too was not in the job for long—the academician lacked organizational abilities. Recently he was reassigned. Many important posts in the republic are now held by recently appointed leaders against whom there are also serious complaints. Were these "mistakes," too?

... The Khabibullayev story taught the members of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau a clear lesson—a lesson in restructuring, a lesson in truth and principledness. And ultimately a lesson in democracy.

"I even receive phone calls from strangers," M. Zakhidov said. "They say: 'We have started to believe in restructuring.' Some people ask what prompted me to speak out against Khabibullayev 'himself.' My reply: party conscience...."

What is there to say in conclusion? Just one thing: If Communist M. Zakhidov is joined by more people who are guided by their conscience in their work and lives, matters will improve in the republic more quickly. There will be fewer and fewer mistakes, and that also applies to the nomination of unworthy and unconscientious people to responsible posts.

Positive processes in cadre work have intensified noticeably in the republic now. The removal of Khabibullayev is one confirmation of that.

Uzbek Party Leader Discusses Ethnic Issues

PM1703141389 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 24 Feb 89 pp 1-4

[Report delivered by R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, at 23 February session of Tashkent regional conference of Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan on "Topical Problems of the Improvement of Interethnic Relations Under Conditions of Glasnost and the Democratization of Social Life": "The 27th CPSU Congress and the Improvement of Interethnic Relations in Uzbekistan Under Conditions of Democratization and the Restructuring of Economic and Social Life"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] A principled cadre policy is a substantial factor for a truly Leninist solution of interethnic problems. In Uzbekistan we are pursuing a consistent policy of ensuring that the composition of leadership cadres and elected bodies reflects the republic's ethnic structure. Party committees' nomenklatura lists include representatives of various nationalities, 19 nations and ethnic groups are represented among Uzbek Supreme Soviet deputies, and over 50 are represented on local soviets.

This in no way means a mechanical distribution of posts on ethnic grounds, of course. While taking ethnic composition into account when selecting cadres and shaping the composition of elected bodies, priority is given to political, professional, moral, and internationalist qualities and the ability to work with people. It should be noted that we have a broad work front here. As has already been noted, during the stagnation period the flawed practice of promoting people into leadership posts on the basis of hometown ties and horse trading predominated. Recurring instances of this kind are given a resolute rebuff in the republic. We are seeking to ensure that the spirit of internationalism permeates all forms and methods of cadre policy and all our work.

The unfolding and deepening of democratic processes and the radical restructuring of the economy and the political system are considerably intensifying people's civic activeness. This is being demonstrated, in part, by the creation of independent associations and movements whose activities reflect a broad range of working people's and students' interests. For example, associations of internationalist servicemen play an active part in educating the young generation.

Not everything goes smoothly and painlessly, of course. Lack of experience and the requisite skills in this difficult matter have an impact. Scum of various kinds have come to the surface on the powerful wave of restructuring. Irresponsible attempts are being made to channel the processes of democratization and glasnost into a

nationalist channel, weaken our fraternal unity, and undermine the Soviet states' internationalist foundations, and efforts are being made to create political structures opposed to the party.

Negative trends can be observed in the activity of some individuals and a number of informal organizations. Using slogans in support of restructuring as a cover, self-styled leaders are not advocating the pooling of efforts to solve the problems we face but are seeking to discredit party and soviet organs and fuel nationalism, and they are urging people onto the path of lawlessness and anarchy. Heedless of reality, they are urging economic exclusiveness, stirring up language problems, talking a great deal about ending personnel exchanges, and so forth.

It has to be said outright that in a number of places nationalistically inclined and corrupt individuals are succeeding in getting groups of undereducated people to follow them and exerting a negative influence on young people. Their actions often spill over into extremism and the organization of publicity-seeking actions which in many instances fall outside the law. They are assuming a heavy responsibility, and their actions could lead to unpredictable consequences.

The republic's leadership is far from attempting to put curbs on democratization and glasnost, as some self-styled freedom fighters put it. Uzbekistan has a mass of acute unresolved problems in all spheres of the economy and social and cultural life. We make no secret of this. We are striving to gradually, step by step, solve these problems.

A political necessity for all of us is a calm, businesslike, and critical analysis of restructuring processes, a search for practical ways to solve the acute and urgent problems, not endless sensationalizing of distorted facts or information about defects in our development, which we have openly and honestly discussed in party documents and the press.

Party committees and all Communists must deal a resolute rebuff to the extremists, ensure initiative and combativeness in raising and resolving acute questions, and put a prompt end to attempts to channel people's increased activeness in an antirestructuring direction. Here it is necessary to be guided by party bodies' decisions and the corresponding legislative acts. People should be taught to live and work under conditions of democracy, which presupposes high political standards and is incompatible with irresponsibility and indiscipline. Great importance at this time is attached to uncovering persisting defects, mistakes, and factors retarding the republic's socioeconomic development and—most importantly—to playing a practical part in eliminating them.

The role of all means of ideological influence, and particularly the mass media, is growing here. Unfortunately mistakes, an excessively categorical tone, and excessive emotion are encountered in the press and in television and radio broadcasts. It is necessary to ensure broad coverage of everything positive that restructuring brings to people's lives, conduct constructive criticism of the shortcomings, and reflect events in all their depth, diversity, complexity, and contradictoriness. [passage omitted]

As is well known, the main direction of language development in the USSR consists of attention to the in-depth study of both people's native language and Russian. Unfortunately, for a number of reasons a decline in interest in in-depth study of national languages in schools has led to a situation in which many young men and women do not have the command of these languages that they should. This is also the case in Uzbekistan. A section of the scientific and technical intelligentsia and leading workers of party and soviet organs also have difficulty communicating in the native language, which leads to a certain distancing from the masses and a decline in the effectiveness of organizational and political work among the indigenous population.

The concern felt by the public over the situation, in terms of the study and use of the Uzbek language, is therefore quite understandable. Party and soviet bodies and public education and cultural establishments, relying on public support, have a great deal to do to rectify the situation.

We have set ourselves the task of radically restructuring work relating to study of the Uzbek language—on a voluntary basir, naturally—by representatives of other nationalities living in the republic, primarily children and young people. The training of teachers in the Uzbek language and literature for Russian-language schools, and the development of a corresponding teaching methodology is poorly organized in the republic. The scientific-methodological standard of instructional literature is low. We are aware of the need to elaborate an integrated, targeted "Uzbek language" program and have given instructions to this effect.

The gradual mastery of the language of the indigenous nationality by all leading workers on party and soviet bodies and national economy experts also seems important to us. It would also appear desirable that, when workers are selected and appointed to leadership positions in the republic, account should be taken of their work experience in national regions. It would also be expedient to review the training of this category of workers at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and party schools, and to make provision in tuition programs for studying the spoken language and the history of the indigenous population's culture, art, and traditions.

At the same time, it is still a fundamentally important task to objectively tackle the questions of studying the Russian language. We are seriously perturbed by the fact that many graduates from national schools, especially rural ones, lack the necessary knowledge of the Russian language, and this subsequently has a negative effect on their study, production activity, and military service.

The republic is experiencing an acute shortage of Russian language lecturers in national schools, especially rural ones. Public education organs do not always display the due responsibility for the elimination of shortcomings in this regard.

These and other gross errors were discussed in the past by the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, and the comprehensive "Russian language" program was adopted. In line with this program, a certain amount of work is being done to improve the process of teaching and propagandizing the language of international contacts.

At the same time, we cannot but be perturbed by occasional attempts to set different national languages in opposition to one another. Here and there you can hear inciting voices calling on school and VUZ [higher educational institution] students to sabotage Russian language studies. People are urged to write letters to the Central Committee, including collective letters, claiming that the Uzbek language is almost on the point of extinction through the Russian language's domination, and other such nonsense. Nationalist outbursts like these must be duly rebuffed. Any striving for national exclusiveness leads to economic and spiritual impoverishment. This is not in our people's interests. [passage omitted]

In short, language problems must be resolved with the utmost consideration and caution, taking into account the interests and opinions of the republic's indigenous population and its entire multinational population. This has to be said because a certain section of the creative intelligentsia is making outright suggestions that the Uzbek language be given state language status. Another section proposes making the two languages—Uzbek and Russian—state languages. Numerous proposals are received about the inexpediency of establishing a state language at all. It seems that these questions require comprehensive study. It must not be forgotten that they are not isolated but are most closely interlinked with political, economic, and interethnic questions. [passage omitted]

I would like to emphasize the importance of elaborating a considered strategy and tactics for atheistic work and a politically correct approach toward religion and believers. What are the mistakes and omissions in this sphere? First, there is still inadequate propaganda of constitutional provisions about freedom of conscience and legislation on religious cults, and this applies not only to work with believers and nonbelievers but also to work with party and soviet cadres. Second, there are frequent instances of continuing administrative interference in the solution of emerging problems. Meanwhile, the excesses committed in the recent past—when folk traditions were abolished by force and centuries-old rituals and customs were banned on the pretext of stepping up atheistic propaganda—produced nothing but harm.

These distortions are now being remedied. Some prayer houses which were previously closed down have been reopened at the believers' request, questions of publishing religious literature are being positively resolved, and the clergy and believers are being involved in cooperation with humanitarian public organizations.

Party committees must be clearly aware of the degree of religious belief among different groups of the population, must firmly abandon the administrative-bureaucratic approach toward religious questions, must step up their work at places of residence, and must show more attention for people's needs and the enhancement of their living standards.

At the same time there must be no slackening of exactingness in calling Communists and Komsomol members to account for directly participating in religious rituals and displaying a dual world outlook. After all, the new political thinking now emerging with regard to religion does not mean an ideological compromise with it.

Comrades! The shaping of a socialist and internationalist way of life is a cause of the entire party and the entire people. The political experience, labor morality, and moral potential of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia and their profound commitment to a good-neighborly community of different peoples are being mobilized to resolve this noble task.

A special role in this work is assigned to the intelligentsia, which is the vehicle for the ideas of national awareness and actively influences its shaping. The overall climate of interethnic relations depends to an enormous extent on the intelligentsia's civic maturity, on the depth of its perception of the fundamental interests of its people and of society as a whole. The overwhelming majority of the republic's scientific and cultural figures bear aloft the banner of internationalism, are genuine bearers of its ideas, and loyally and truthfully serve the cause of strengthening the friendship and brotherhood of our peoples.

Unfortunately, there are also some who display ideological instability and make irresponsible statements to inflame unhealthy passions and emotions on ethnic grounds. It is time for these hotheads to cool down, to fully realize the responsibility for their actions, and to become aware of their civic duty to their people.

It is also worth saying that the retreat by some representatives of the intelligentsia from internationalist positions testifies to errors in ideological work with the

intelligentsia by party organs. We have drawn the appropriate conclusions from this and are striving to strengthen contacts with the creative intelligentsia. The party Central Committee regularly holds meetings with scientific and cultural figures at which topical problems of restructuring are discussed in an atmosphere of frankness and specific tasks are set for stepping up the intelligentsia's work. [passage omitted]

Further Curbs Threatened in Yerevan

PM2303101389 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 14 Mar 89 p 2

[Yerevan gorispolkom and military commandant's office "Announcement"]

[Text] The Yerevan gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] and the leadership of the military commandant's office have received numerous letters from citizens demanding that all violations of public order be resolutely stopped and normal working and recreational conditions created for the capital's residents.

Despite repeated warnings and requests for compliance with curfew restrictions, events of the last 2 weeks attest to the intention of some irresponsible individuals to disrupt normal life and the activity of municipal services, establishments, and enterprises. By holding unsanctioned events and using emotionally inflammatory slogans and calls, they are provoking clashes with the forces of law and order in an attempt to destabilize the situation.

The fact that the real organizers of the illegal actions are increasingly inciting young people to thoughtless actions while themselves prudently remaining in the "shadows" arouses particular alarm and concern.

Thus 11 March this year, after an "Ararat"-"Dynamo" (Minsk) soccer match, a group of citizens, the bulk of whom were minors, held an unsanctioned procession along Marshal Bagramyan Boulevard, during which they behaved in an unruly fashion and disrupted the smooth running of municipal transport. Further illegal actions were prevented by steps taken by public order protection forces. The organizers and the most active firebrands were arrested, and proceedings are being instituted against them. They include Artur Zavenovich Patvakanyan, born 1963, who has not worked for the past 7 months, who has been given several warnings in the past for similar actions, and who was cautioned last September by Spandaryanskiy Rayon's People's Court.

Yerevan gorispolkom and the military commandant's office leadership have drawn the attention of the capital's citizens and residents to the fact that additional steps will be taken to enforce the curfew if there are further violations; in particular, restrictions will be introduced on mass sports events in Yerevan, and soccer matches involving the "Ararat" team will be switched to neutral venues.

U.S. Armenian Delegation Visits, Discusses Aid

NC1703111089 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Report on article by Zori Balayan in Yerevan's GRAKAN TERT, entitled: "The First Swallows"]

[Text] Yerevan, 15 Mar ARMENPRES—If a year ago I had been asked whether it was possible to visit Nagorno-Karabakh accompanied by an Armenian diaspora delegation, I would not have taken such a request seriously. It is most obvious that as far back as the 1930's "the executioner of Transcaucasia, Mr Chafar Bakhirov," with the consent of the all-union executioner, Stalin, declared not only Nakhichevan but also Nagorno-Karabakh closed zones. The goal was very simple: to create isolated islets where national minorities were to live cut off from all ties with the outside world. Soon, those islets were not only isolated from the outside world, that is from abroad, but even from the internal Soviet world. No one could visit Nakhichevan and Nagorno-Karabakh without the official permission of the local beys of the Stalin and Brezhnev circles.

However, today we can really talk about significant changes in our time. This is evinced by the real and tangible proof of restructuring. Many people brought up this very subject in conversations during meetings in Stepanakert with the delegation of the diaspora Armenians.

I was absorbed by this idea long ago. It sounded strange to me that in these days of restructuring we were setting up humanitarian organizations everywhere by labeling them charity or health societies, without even once mentioning that the Armenian General Benevolent Union [AGBU— Armenian charity and cultural organization headquartered in New York] has existed for 90 years. In these days, on the very eve of the establishment of a charity organization in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, a delegation of diaspora Armenian public activists left for Stepanakert headed by Garlen Dallakyan, chairman of the Committee for Cultural Ties With Armenians Abroad. Since the airplane had not yet landed on Artsakh [Armenian name for Karabakh] soil, I was still skeptical about the realization of my dream. The following were on the plane: Louise Simon Manukyan, assistant director of AGBU; Christine Simon, her daughter and AGBU activist; Berkruhi Svajyan, a member of the AGBU administration and an educationalist and psychologist; Garbis Chanchikyan, the representative of the firm Masco which belongs to Aleks and Richard Manukyans; Mary Najaryan, public activist from Los Angeles; and Michael Arlen, the famous Armenian writer.

The delegation's negotiations with Arkadiy Volskiy, chairman of the Special Administration Committee, took 2 days. The guests familarized themselves with the industrial potential of the oblast in order to arrive at

clear decisions concerning setting up a joint firm. Naturally, it might be necessary to give details on the meetings, talks, proposals, and prospective plans, but for the time being a few words about the general results:

The most important point is that the representative of Masco found it possible to establish a joint (?sanitary) technical enterprise. The substantial negotiations for this have already begun. During her meeting with A. Volskiy, Louise Simon Manukyan explained that in the present phase the priority is to provide help in house construction. It was agreed that the AGBU would fully undertake the responsibility of supplying the (?sanitary) technical equipment for 2,000 residential buildings and the interior decorating for the hotel being constructed.

A member of the Special Administration Committee, speaking to KOMMUNIST newspaper, described the health conditions in the oblast as hailing from the "Stone Age." Truly, in no corner of the world today can you find such a poor hospital as the one in Stepanakert. Mary Najaryan—who, with her husband Vardges Najaryan, the famous U.S. orthopedic surgeon, and other Armenian doctors, had done much to help our health system, in particular after the December disaster—compiled a detailed list of the instruments and equipment needed for future provision of the hospitals in the oblast. Just before the earthquake, the Najaryan couple had, in line with an official agreement with the Armenian Health Ministry, already sent the necessary amount of medicine to Nagorno-Karabakh. There was television coverage of that event. However, soon after 7 December the people of Karabakh sent all this medicine to Leninakan.

G. Dallakyan, chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations With Armenians Abroad, also conducted negotiations with Volskiy, chairman of the Special Administration Committee. They discussed in particular the subject of opening up branches of Inturist and the "Hayrenik" firm in the oblast. The members of the delegation also visited the scenic parts of Artsakh and Kantsasar Monastery.

Readers already know that a group of children injured during the earthquake have been sent to the United States for treatment and for prostheses. Now Mary Najaryan will accompany another group of children to the United States. The republic's health minister is closely monitoring the condition of the children being treated there. The Armenian Writers Union is extending enormous help as well. The public must be informed of all that is being done in the disaster area and in Nagorno-Karabakh. We will give priority to those of our swallows which, even if they do not bring the spring with them, have already become the harbingers of a new phase in our life. The writers who have done so much for the realization of restructuring must also be enticed into this thankful work.

Public expression of opinion is the chronicle of our times, and today that means the chronicle of restructuring. I am convinced that the people will get to know all the swallows of restructuring one by one. This is the law of public expression of opinion.

Correction to Arutyunyan on Refugees, 'Karabakh'

WA2203160689

The following, from Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 1 Mar 1989 pages 1-3, constitutes a corrected version of the item headlined "Arutyunyan on Refugees, Karabakh Committee," published in the 21 March DAILY REPORT, page 77:

make subslug read: [For earlier reportage on the 23 February meeting of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee with representatives of the republic's intellectuals, see pages 82-84 of the 13 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT] (supplying subslug)

substitute the following for the earlier published version: [Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

V.A. Petrosyan, writer, chairman of the Armenian cultural fund: I think that the exchange of views on the relations between the party organs and the press is exceedingly important. The stance of mass media is contingent on the stance of the party committees. Now the course of mutual restraint has been chosen, and this is correct. It is not possible to evade historical facts. Our people [Armenians and Azerbaijanis] have lived side by side and shall continue to live like this. The good-neighborly relations must be shaped together by mutual effort.

However, recently I got hold of the 3 January 1989 issue of the wide circulation paper, STROITEL, of the Azerbaijan SSR State Construction Committee. It has published an article entitled "There Is Only One Truth" which carries crude attacks against the Armenian people and against historical truths. And all these were penned not by an ordinary reader but by T. Aliyev, professor, assistant dean of the Construction Engineering Institute, and a member of the republic's peace fund.

I am in favor of restraint, but reciprocal restraint. Who else but the intellectuals must be an example on this issue.

Now, I would like to touch on the issue of refugees. Today, this problem acutely faces us. So far there has been no clarification on the issue, and this gives rise to rumors.

[Remark from audience] A clear stance is required.

S.G. Arutunyan: The republic's leadership is not cold-shouldering the problems of the refugees. We are dealing with the problem in earnest, but there are extraordinary complexities. We already have half a million homeless in

the earthquake zone; about 94,000 are on the waiting list for houses in Yerevan and other cities. More than 190,000 refugees were added to that. It is impossible to settle them in Yerevan and Ararat valley. It has been decided to exploit the mountainous regions and abandoned villages. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has passed a decision concerning the place and manner of their settlement and employment. In addition, supplementary means have been provided by way of material assistance to those families which so far have not received assistance.

[Remark from audience] Effort is being exerted, but the people are barely aware of it.

S.G. Arutyunyan: The members of the Central Committee are now visiting the refugees, meeting them, and clarifying in detail how to solve the problems. I think the intellectuals must actively join in this important work. It is a grave problem. We are trying to convince the people to go to the villages where there are houses and jobs, but they refuse to do so; only a few families have done so.

[Remark from audienc] Might we possibly send them to Leninakan, Girovakan, and Spitak and provide them with temporary dwellings, let them live and work there?

S.G. Arutyunyan: At present there are in general no amenities in the earthquake zone. People are living under tents, in garages; many are deprived of their work places and have not yet been placed in jobs.

V.A. Petrosyan: The search for a solution is continuing, and it is important that everyone hear about that. When V.M. Movsisyan made a TV commentary on the decision of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, the response was not bad. People saw with wide eyes the efforts being undertaken for the amelioration of the refugees' conditions. Of course, efforts also must be made to return the refugees to their former places of residence. But it won't be proper to apply pressure.

S.G. Arutunyan: Only on a voluntary basis. The decision, too, stipulates that it should be on a voluntary basis. [passage omitted]

A.I. Matevosyan, writer: I would like to ask a question concerning the fate of those who were detained on charges of creating public disorder. Among them there are also the activists of the "Karabakh" committee. Of what are they guilty? If we cannot talk about this here, then where?

S.G Arutunyan: I think that the Karabakh movement and those people who face charges should not be equated. The investigation is virtually over, and soon an open trial will ensue. Then it will be clear to everyone who is guilty and of what. If they are not guilty before the law, then they will be set free. (supplying corrected version)

Investigator on NKAO Refugees, Crime

PM2003095589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 p 2

["Topical Interview" with V.I. Ilyukhin, first deputy chief of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Main Investigation Administration, by correspondent A. Mursaliyev: "Extraordinary Assignment"; place and date not given]

[Text] [Mursaliyev] Viktor Ivanovich, the recently adopted USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree introducing a special form of administration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has come into force. Does the decree help you in your work?

[Ilyukhin] It is too early to speak of results. However, I welcome the adopted decision. In July 1988 the country's Supreme Soviet reaffirmed that Nagorno-Karabakh is an inalienable part of the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. After that, however, the party obkom adopted a resolution on the oblast party organization's withdrawal from the republic Communist Party. An oblast soviet session, the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], and the oblast Potrebsoyuz [Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives] have subsequently adopted similar decisions. Such actions have clearly not helped to arrange contacts but, on the contrary, have deepened the conflict between the two peoples. We ourselves have felt the effects of a reluctance to observe regulation order and discipline. Back in April of last year criminal proceedings were instituted against R. Atayan, deputy of the oblast soviet and director of the Karabakh silk combine, for mass illegal dismissals of Azerbaijani women workers.

We asked the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] to consent to his being called to account. But, contrary to all common sense, we were refused. The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium rescinded the oblast soviet's decision and referred the materials for a new examination. Several months passed, but the oblast soviet did not even think of considering our petition. This question has now been resolved.

[Mursaliyev] Many people consider your team a kind of shock detachment in the struggle to normalize the situation in the region, a detachment which will cleanse the republic of a web of corruption. How successfully is work proceeding in this area?

[Ilyukhin] Dozens of people have been arrested for crimes committed in Baku, Kirovabad, Sheki, Zakataly, and other regions. A number of cases, including cases involving the kindling of ethnic discord, have already been passed to the courts. Three extradepartmental security personnel of Baku city's 26 Baku Commissars Rayon Internal Affairs Department have been sentenced to imprisonment for making and keeping weapons. Baku City Court sentenced N. Guliyev, jewelry factory worker, to 2 and ½ years' imprisonment for producing and disseminating leaflets of a nationalist nature. Sentences

have also been passed for a number of acts of hooliganism, wrecking of apartments, and premeditated murders. Considerable difficulties arose when establishing those to blame for the deaths of servicemen B. Gusev, O. Yurchenko, and A. Kosenko. But all that is in the past now. The killer will soon appear before the court.

An investigative group of the USSR Prosecutor's Office is now conducting an investigation into enterprises of the Ministry of Motor Transport. A number of officials have been arrested. The republic prosecutor's office is investigating overreporting with regard to cotton on several farms. It has been established that it was done with the participation of rayon leaders, particularly party raykom secretaries. A case of criminal activity by "shop workers" ["tsekhoviki"] in Sumgait will soon be sent to trial. We have instituted criminal proceedings for bribetaking against working people of the Azerbaijan Central Institute for Raising Teachers' Qualifications and Baku City's No 25 College. Cases of extortion, protection racketeering, and embezzlement have been exposed at other enterprises and establishments in the republic.

We are sent masses of statements concerning embezzlement, waste, and bribetaking—in short, there are more than enough materials. However, we are not yet in a position to embark on the majority of them. We have insufficient time, resources, and people. Of our more than 300 investigators, over 250 are employed in investigating cases of pogroms, violence, attacks, and kindling of interethnic enmity.

It has to be admitted that for a while slick operators in the "shadow" economy very skillfully manipulated people's national feelings, virtually began controlling the process, and channeled it in a direction advantageous to them. Thus, they organized attacks on the prosecutor's offices in Stepanakert and Sheki, where at the time there were materials on large-scale embezzlement, and they searched for and tried to destroy them. In Sheki, for example, attackers burned some of the documents. They now have to be restored.

[Mursaliyev] Last year the republic press carried a report on an attempt to burn down the prosecutor's office building in an Azerbaijan rayon with a view to destroying the file on large-scale embezzlement. Only a few people were involved in that, and it took place at night. But here a mass of people tried to do the same thing in broad daylight. Did this not display people's discontent with the law enforcement organs, which have compromised themselves in recent decades?

[Ilyukhin] This reason must not be swept aside. Stagnation affected all spheres of society's life. The law enforcement organs were no exception. I must say that the republic's population has many reasons to be discontent with their actions. Many employees of the republic's internal affairs organs were not up to scratch during the events. Some of them have been dismissed from the organs, and criminal proceedings have been instituted against others. What is more, we cannot rely on all of them even now. The local State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate and Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department services also give rise to much complaint.

But it would be unfair to speak badly of the whole republic system of law enforcement organs. Intelligent men from Azerbaijan work in our group too. They fulfill their duty honestly and conscientiously.

As regards the mass nature of the attacks on prosecutor's offices, I will note that the criminal element predominated among the attackers. The criminal world generally was very active at the time of the events. Taking advantage of the situation of destabilization, it instantly found its bearings and engaged in robbery and violence in the general confusion. Criminal gangs were formed along far from ethnic lines.

[Mursaliyev] Your team is now working in various areas—cases of embezzlement, investigating pogroms and violence, following up cases of kindling interethnic discord. Which problem would you single out at present as being most acute and painful?

[Ilyukhin] The refugee problem. There are now more than 150,000 refugees from Armenia in Azerbaijan. Insufficient attention is devoted to them. But the environment is dangerously explosive, and the consequences could prove unforeseen and far graver than in Sumgait a year ago. Therefore urgent and effective measures are needed. We have set up a special group to work with these people. We draw up depositions and actions with regard to all applications from this category of the population, make up files, and send them for completion to Armenia, where a similar team is working under the leadership of V. Titov, another deputy of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Main Investigation Administration. In just the same way they send us files for completion with regard to refugees from Azerbaijan. We work in close contact, together with the two republics' prosecutor's offices, and with the active support and assistance of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. Something else is important too. The two republics' leaders adopted an appeal to citizens of Armenian and Azerbaijani nationality, urging them to return to their homes. But that appeal must be backed up with specific actions, and the obstacles to returning must be removed.

Associating with migrants, we have obtained much information which, unfortunately, is being confirmed. On pain of violence people frequently are not let into their home villages, into houses which are already occupied. There are many cases of refusals to exchange apartments or sell private houses. Armed groups are still encountered on Armenia's roads. They must be disarmed. As for weapons, large quantities are being kept there illegally. Therefore, by way of discussion, I will suggest a proposal to introduce military, commandant

services in large Azerbaijani villages on Armenian territory endowed with the right to resolve all questions of economic and administrative life. This is, of course, an extraordinary measure, but an enforced one, and it can provide guarantees of the migrants' return.

We are earnestly engaged in investigating the activity of the "Karabakh" committee. The notorious committee's activity is far from harmless, as it seemed to many people at first. And the "Karabakh movement" is not a "child of restructuring," as some people now try to portray it. The first mentions of it date back to the forties and fifties. While the investigation is proceeding, it is still too early to speak of the details, but much is already becoming clear to us.

[Mursaliyev] What is the situation in the region today?

[Ilyukhin] Proper public order is being ensured, active measures are being taken to reinstate at work those dismissed earlier, and violated housing rights are being restored. All this is undoubtedly helping to overcome the crisis and to resolve interethnic tension. The most convincing confirmation of the situation's stabilization is provided by the return of more than 40,000 migrants to Azerbaijan. However, it is too early to speak of an entirely satisfactory situation.

Baku Commandant Notes Continuing Law Violations
NC1703084089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Notice by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situation in Baku has not changed and the process of normalizing the situation is continuing. The work that is being carried out in the work collectives of the administrations and establishments to strengthen interethnic relations cannot be underestimated.

Measures are being put into effect through the joint effort of the pertinent organs, the procuracy, and the military commandant's headquarters to prevent lawless activities by individual citizens aimed at provoking interethnic discord. This contributes toward [words indistinct] law and order and toward normalizing interethnic relations.

The return of about 40,000 migrants to the republic is a convincing indication of the stabilized situation. In view of this, it is no coincidence that the article which correspondent (?Falichev) published in [name indistinct] VOLGA under the rubric "The Long Way Home" on 15 March has surprised Baku residents, who have described it as negative. The article claims that assessing the situation created in Baku in December 1988 in this way would be right, but it would be [words indistinct] to assess it as such at the present time.

Looking at the operative situation in the city, it must be clearly admitted that the pertinent organs are not carrying out high-level and productive work to prevent law violations and other lawless activities—particularly house robberies, raiding for the purpose of stealing, and vehicle theft. Criminal activities among [word indistinct] and [word indistinct] in trade and other services domains have not been put to an end. The local Soviet organs could have done more to strengthen law and public order by securing the support of the people's militia and the city residents.

We must cooperate in realizing the (?important) and urgent tasks.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Air-Powered Weapons, Rifle Ranges Banned in Baku
NC1703113089 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Order No 18 issued by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District in Baku City on 16 March]

[Text] Due to failure by rifle circles to reliably safeguard air-powered weapons and compatible ammunition, which is a factor that may lead to their being (?misused) and thereby constitute a threat to the life and health of citizens, I hereby order:

1. The prohibition of the use of rifle ranges as of 17 March this year. Air-powered weapons and compatible ammunition are to be surrendered for temporary storage at established arms collection points in the commandants' sectors.

2. Sector commandants, the head of the Internal Affairs Department of the Baku Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee], and the chairman of the city's DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation and Navy] society are to organize control over the implementation of this order.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Gas Pipeline Tragedy Averted in Tyumen Oblast
LD2203185189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Courage and irresponsibility—about one accident in Tyumen Oblast. [video shows ground fires in several places; snow-covered ground and bare trees farther away; closeups of flames, shot of black cloud lifting into the sky]

[Correspondent I. Tratsevskiy, identified by caption] The accident at the products pipeline [na Produktoprovode] took place late at night. Toxic heavy began to gas, flammable and explosive, gushed out under great pressure. It began to quickly fill low-lying areas. The wind took it toward settlements and the Tyumen-Tobolsk main rail line. A tragedy could have taken place at any time. Specialists and helicopter pilots were put on alert. [video shows same locality, fire engine and trucks parked near a group of men standing about; view of a small plane flying overhead; vehicle on tracks moving on snow-covered road; snow plow; more views of men near the burning ground]

At 0300 they discovered the place of the rupture north of Tyumen. Risking their lives, they did not hesitate to fly into the gas-filled area; with the help of a signal pistol, they set fire to the gas. A gigantic explosion resulted. Flames towered over the taiga to a height of 150 meters. Fortunately, there were no casualties. At the Tyumen Oblast public prosecutor's office I was told that the West Siberia-Urals-Volga Valley products pipeline went into operation in 1985 with large areas incomplete: without electrochemical protection means against corrosion, without teleautomatics systems, and without reserve strings across water barriers. They even forgot to cover tens of kilometers of the main trunk line in trenches. [video shows man filming the scene; many small fires scattered about on the ground, a more substantial fire burning in the distance; closeup of large containers marked "oil" in a different location]

Since that time, there have been several small and three large accidents on the Tyumen section. An investigation was conducted. However, they did not succeed in establishing who was responsible. The chiefs blamed the workers and the workers blamed jobs done by everyone and rushed work. There are no guilty parties, but the accidents are continuing. [video shows pipeline raised from the ground running alongside aforementioned containers; woman seated at a desk inside a monitoring control room, closeup of part of control panel marked "Tyumen"]

The last 20-year period has been marked by a heroic and mass procession along West Siberia by pipeline builders. Many trunk lines—and these are tens of thousands of kilometers of communications and an abundance of pumping and compressor stations—were handed over for use in a hurry, without the proper quality control; and today we are reaping the bitter fruits. Neither the Chelyabinsk pipe-rolling works, which delivered pipes for this route, nor the assembly workers from the Yugansktruboprovodstroy trust, nor the service for the exploitation and management of oil trunk pipelines of Western and Northwestern Siberia, are assuming responsibility for what has happened. A state commission is continuing the investigation into the reasons for the accident. [video shows views of pipeline construction work; another distant view of the fire, showing large spread of land involved, plume of black smoke rising to the sky, tent set up near the area next to vehicles; group of men listening as one man looks at a chart; views of machinery outdoors in the snow; view of a man indoors working at a monitoring desk; another view of the fire scene; a closeup of barren muddy soil with small flames all over it, camera moving to show the largest flame one final time]

Pipeline Accident Disrupts Flow of Gas

PM2303094989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under the rubric "Incidents": "Accident on Gas Pipeline"]

[Text] An accident occurred on 19 March on a section of the main Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod pipeline in Bogorodchanskiy Rayon, Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast. For reasons yet unknown, a welded joint in the pipe carrying gas at a pressure of 64 atmospheres blew.

Thanks to work on the part of the line's emergency services, the flow of gas along the damaged pipe was rapidly shut off, and consumers began to receive gas from neighboring transcontinental pipelines.

A commission has been set up, made up of specialists from the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises and other organizations. T. Levitskiy, chief engineer at the "Prikarpattransgaz" Main Gas Pipelines Administration, who is in charge of the commission, announced that more than 2 million cubic meters of gas had been lost as a result of the accident. Repair teams are carrying out reconstruction work.

'Passive' Estonian Central Committee Criticized

PM2203124189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondents A. Petrushov and V. Shirokov: "When Passions Call the Tune. Some Lessons of What Is Happening in Estonia"; first three paragraphs are letter from CPSU member]

[Text] Tallinn—Almost the whole of my adult life is connected with Estonia, where I have lived for more than 40 years. I saw with my own eyes the results of the fascists' rule during the war years. Narva was left in ruins and Tallinn and Tartu were devastated, along with many other cities and settlements. Together we restored what had been destroyed. I had to work extracting shale to supply our power stations with fuel. For more than 20 years I went down the mines day in, day out. And there were thousands like me. At that time we were not called "migrants." Everyone lived equally poorly, but we were friends and shared the difficulties equally. Yes, not everyone managed to master the Estonian language. However, I never once heard anyone bragging about this gap in their knowledge. Quite the contrary. Experiencing difficulties in communication, we repeatedly raised the

question of studying the national language and it was suggested that mixed preschool institutions and general education schools be set up.

Now to the main reason for this letter. In my opinion, the People's Front rules everything in Estonia today. Its leaders are in command of the press, radio, and television, organize rallies, conduct public opinion polls, and interfere in cadre issues. In short, they manage to do everything and more besides. One wonders: Where is our Estonian Communist Party? Why have the Central Committee, gorkoms, and raykoms taken a passive stance? Instead of actively upholding the truth, persuading people, and helping them to find their way in the maze of different opinions, Communists are constantly too late, are on the defensive, or else assume the strange role of appeasers.
[Signed] Ye. Pavlov, member of the CPSU since 1944 and a war and labor veteran, Kokhtla-Yarve

There is a letter for you. It is not the only one of its kind in the editorial mailbag. Letters like these are written not only by Russians but by people of other nationalities in the republic. We have also had a considerable number of letters from Estonians, whose names we cannot give, at their urgent request. This fact is symptomatic. After PRAVDA's publication of articles by Academician G. Naan of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences and journalist L. Annus, the press, radio, and television organized a real campaign of harassment against the authors, trying to make them out to be inveterate Stalinists and "enemies" of the nation. Abuse and threats are hurled at them over the telephone. Such abuse and threats that they are both virtually in need of bodyguards. The point reached by some publications can be seen from a cartoon in the newspaper MAALEHT ("RURAL NEWSPAPER") about the article by G. Naan in PRAVDA. Here is a verbatim translation of the caption beneath it: "So much filth has accumulated in the soul of this academician that Estonia has no bucket big enough for it."

That is supposed to be pluralism of opinions?

Speakers at a recent plenum of the USSR Union of Journalists openly described this as a political provocation worthy of stern condemnation. True, that is what it deserves. This broth concocted by the newspaper is clearly made with sour yeast. It is no chance concoction, no rare delicacy.

The Vyruskiy Rayon newspaper TEERAHVA ELU ("LIFE OF THE WORKING PERSON") carried the following "witty words" under the headline "Don't Believe Rumors": "That the RSFSR is seceding from the USSR. That the Estonian SSR is being expelled from the USSR. That life in the Soviet Union is good. That only one tank regiment will be sent to Tallinn..." It also carries a "very witty" rejoinder: The question of a new currency in Estonia was being discussed. People turned for a recommendation to Moscow, to the "Miracle" [allusion to IME, the Estonian acronym for Estonian Self-Management, and also the Estonian word for "miracle"] Research Institute, which came up with a good solution: The new monetary unit in Estonia will be the red farthing.

And that is supposed to be humor?

There is nothing simpler than to excite and agitate people. People become particularly excitable when their most sensitive, delicate feelings are injured—national feelings. The inflammatory nature of the methods used by the extremists can be illustrated with examples of statements in the mass media and oral "revelations" by speakers.

"There was once an Estonia that was smart and well kept, with neat little houses and tidy gardens. There was once an Estonia where no one did shoddy work. There were once Estonians who were industrious, honest, and determined...." And now? "How disfigured the land, how disfigured our souls! Desolation." "For the first time in the last 100 years, there is almost nothing to eat in Estonia." "They can destroy us but they can never enslave us." "The birth rate among Estonians falls every year. Do Estonian women no longer want to have children?" "We are surrounded by dark forces. We do not know how strong mysterious Russia's yearning for enlightenment and democracy is, we do not know how much longer the abyss between prosperous Europe and us—who are on the brink of collapse—will continue to exist. We do not control our future fate."

Against the background of this—to be frank—political demagoguery, it was strange to hear the following words in the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and in a number of party committees we visited: "There is no need to overdramatize things." Actually we are not overdramatizing. In front of us we have a fresh copy of the reference book "The Estonian SSR," published by Tallinn's "Periodika" publishing house. Let us leaf through this publication.

The average life expectancy is 70.4 years (it is 69 years for the Soviet Union as a whole). On average each woman has 2.1 children. Infant mortality is below the average for the country. The inhabitants are highly educated. Estonia is in first place in the Soviet Union in terms of living standards. Incidentally, the RSFSR is not even in the top 10 for this indicator, although it comes just behind Estonia in terms of output produced per person in the working population. In the spiritual sphere, a total of 78 out of 110 journals, bulletins, and other publications are published in the native language. The republic has 10 creative unions and societies.

It goes without saying that socioeconomic disproportions have also affected Estonia. The development of the economy has slowed. In the northeast of the republic, the ecological situation has become complicated, demographic distortions have occurred through the fault of

union ministries and departments, and migration has increased at an excessive rate. But, after all, the economic reform, whose essence lies in the social reorientation of economic activity, aims to eliminate these negative trends, which, incidentally, are also found in other regions of the country. This will be helped by implementation of the regional economic accountability model—the brainchild of Estonian scientists and specialists.

However, you also cannot help seeing that, along with healthy forces which have assumed the heavy burden of transforming life on the basis of Leninist, revolutionary traditions, other persons have attached themselves to restructuring and are descending to really absurd, ridiculous remarks, thereby straining the already uneasy atmosphere. The arrogance of these people is growing before our very eyes.

"What is more," V. Guyvan from Tallinn wrote to PRAVDA, "the newfound 'champions of the nation,' who are afflicted with a morbid sense of their own exclusiveness, scornfully and arrogantly turn up their noses at the mere mention of the words 'Estonian Communist Party.' Some of them claim that a party card and honor, a party card and humanity, a party card and freedom of the people are diametrically opposed concepts. I am beginning to get the impression that, if they have not done so yet, the leaders of the People's Front are close to seizing political power."

We do not think any commentary is needed here.

The "erosion" of the party's role and its unity is a serious virus. Once it has emerged, it will definitely try to invade new spheres. In Payde, for example, and at some other rayon party conferences, there were demands for the creation of a "sovereign" Estonian Communist Party. Does this mean that a line should be drawn between Estonian and Russian-speaking Communists? Is this a call for a split in the Communist Party? For the delegates of some party conferences, nationality served as the criterion for their choice. It is clearly no accident that the following form of address was used, for example, from the rostrum of the Rapla party conference: "Esteemed ladies and gentlemen!"

"... We do not need the Soviet Union," Ya. Kaplinskiy wrote to EDAZI, "but it needs us. Therein lies one of our greatest hopes. The hope that our strong partner, the rulers in Moscow, must sooner or later recognize that the partnership between little Estonia and big Russia was brought about by force...."

We are not—we repeat—overdramatizing things, but the fact remains: Some "fighters," exploiting the development of democratization and glasnost, say what they like how they like. On the one hand, there are massive attacks on specific Communist leaders and they are counterposed to the "people," and, on the other, doubt is cast on the very leading role of the party and frank attempts are made to stake out the idea that the Estonian Communist Party is only a faction in the republic.

If the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee continues to take a passive stance, the republic's Communist Party will suffer terribly, which will afford great pleasure to the opponents of restructuring. We are not alone in this conclusion. Communists in the Estonian Shipping Company were among the first to reach this conclusion. At their report and election party conference, they bluntly named the mistakes made by the Central Committee and the Tallinn gorkom.

Let us think back to the November discussions in the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee following the extraordinary session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet which, as is well known, passed acts some of whose provisions were not in line with the USSR Constitution. Therefore they were deemed invalid by a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. In fact, this was obvious to many people at the time. Even to those deputies who voted in favor of the acts. It is hard to forget how distraught some of them looked. "What should we do?" they asked. "We are Communists, but the republic's leaders urged us to support the drafts of these documents at a meeting of the supreme soviet party group."

Time has passed. How do people view this now?

"After the session," we were told at the "Elektrotekhnika" science and production association, "the situation became more complicated. We non-Estonians felt we had been deceived. A reasonable compromise involves making concessions to some demands and abandoning some of your own positions. But there was a complete departure from the Leninist principles of the Soviet federation. It is no accident that the CPSU Central Committee Plenum strongly criticized this stand. Unfortunately, haste was shown even after this. Take the law on language, for example. It contains a number of clauses which encroach on the Russian-speaking population. The time frame for implementation is clearly too hasty. Meanwhile, the republic does not have enough Estonian language teachers and lacks teaching methods and an adequate number of textbooks, dictionaries, phrasebooks, and office equipment.

"And why the hurry to hoist the national blue, black, and white flag on the Big Hermann tower? The Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted the decree on Estonia's Independence Day and the hoisting of the tricolor literally just a week before the event. Even at the Tallinn Party Gorkom not everyone knew about it. As for the Russian-speaking population, it was presented with a fait accompli. This is why the protest was so stormy. We were especially outraged by the lowering of the red flag from the tower. They lowered it and handed it to a museum.

"It was this which speeded up our unification. You yourself witnessed the rally in Tallinn. Tens of thousands of workers attended it. This is self-defense. We have recovered our sight, you might say. And we will not tolerate concessions and deception any longer."

Let us put emotions aside. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee is not trying to deceive the Russian-speaking population, of course. But as for the "excessive pliancy" and "haste," they, as was mentioned above and will be shown below, did indeed occur and are occurring. Yes, the report of V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, at the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum made a frank assessment of the activities of the former leadership of the republic's Communist Party, a leadership which found itself in a "crisis of confidence." It is impossible to disagree with the speaker's conclusions. However, let us note that it was not the Estonian Communist Party itself which had lost people's confidence, but only its leadership. We think that a clear distinction must be made here. At the same time a great many positive things were said about a new movement—the People's Front. This too was correct. It was created on a healthy platform in support of restructuring.

Incidentally, PRAVDA reported this. People who are now regarded as the leaders of the movement took part in a discussion on the aims and tasks of the People's Front. For instance, Maryu Lauristin. She spoke well. And here are the words of I. Toome, Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary (he is now chairman of the republic council of ministers): "It is fundamentally important for the People's Front to include representatives of all nations and ethnic groups living in Estonia. Under no circumstances must we confine ourselves to fine, pompous declarations; we must seek practical application for everyone's activeness." Yet what has happened in reality? The People's Front has not become the movement of the entire people. This was borne out by the emergence of another front—the International Movement. There are constant outbursts of insults and confrontations between them and these hamper the solution of socioeconomic problems. Because of the unending rallies, labor discipline has deteriorated and losses of work time have increased. Some enterprises are not coping with their contract commitments. Last year less housing than planned was built. In agriculture, too, not everything is going smoothly. Returns on production capital are low and the prime cost of the basic types of products is high. In short, the noble aims and tasks of the People's Front have undergone a metamorphosis that is not to the benefit of the ideas of restructuring.

The alarm expressed by Yu. Raydla, first secretary of the Pyarnuskiy party raykom, for instance, is understandable. Addressing a "roundtable" at the SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA editorial office, he declared: "Let us bluntly admit: We were caught napping by restructuring. After all, it really began in Estonia only last year. And since we have fallen behind, we have lost the initiative...."

S. Kont, first secretary of the Kharyuskiy party raykom, speaking on the same occasion, put it unambiguously: "...Entirely new problems are confronting us on all sides. The strange thing is this: In the past the raykom was under constant pressure, and people were constantly bothering us, demanding something, and handing out information. Now we have reached the other extreme. Everyone is silent. The Central Committee departments are silent. We do not hear very much even from the Central Committee Bureau. Yet we need help, and even guidance in some situations."

We remember the words of Ye. Sidorenko, secretary of the "Dvigatel" plant party committee, at our meeting. He said: "For a long time there was no open and principled party assessment by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee of extremist statements. It stayed on the sidelines of the clash, as it were. Meanwhile people have grown tired of the whipping up of tension. It is stopping us from living and working in peace and is preventing the solution of the complex socioeconomic tasks which confront the republic. Yes, consolidation is needed. But on what foundation? In my view, what is needed is a clear party foundation."

We have studied the Estonian press closely: Ye. Sidorenko is right—it is true that for a long time not a single extremist statement was given a worthy rebuttal by leading party officials.

On the contrary, some of them joined themselves in subtly confusing readers. Thus, for instance, the Central Committee instructor R. Palmaru contributed an article to the newspaper SIRP JA VASAR in which he reviled authors of articles published in PRAVDA with uncommon zeal and stooped to offensive name-calling.

And now another quote: "What do I mean by consolidation? First, people who see the republic as a relatively autonomous part of the country are eligible for consolidation in Estonia. And all those who do not see and recognize this are alien. They have their roots in another place, probably where they were born, and in principle it would, of course, be more sensible for them to go back where their forebears came from and to make policy and restructuring there...."

Whose advice is this, dear reader? It was offered in an interview with SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA by M. Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

Or take the speech by one of the People's Front leaders, CPSU member E. Savisaar, on 24 February of this year in old Tallinn on the occasion of the raising of the blue, black, and white flag over "Big Hermann" tower. Not without dramatic passion, he declared:

"In the past decades they tried to make us forget ourselves and turn the Estonians into a people without a history. The hoisting of the flag is, for us, like finding

ourselves. We have won a moral victory! Whereas last fall we said that Estonia is in our hands, whereas we are now gradually beginning to believe that the government could also be in our hands, today we have hoisted this flag as the flag of struggle, and we say that under this flag, next fall, we will place Estonia's parliament in the hands of men elected and empowered by the people."

And he went on: "Yesterday another flag was lowered from 'Big Hermann' tower, a flag that was not held in honor among the indigenous nation. We must admit sincerely that the goals set when that flag was hoisted, that were then proclaimed loudly to the people, these goals were not achieved, and we must again review the whole of the path that has been traveled. Our flag is unusual in that among its colors, one is missing—the color of blood and vengeance...."

And again: "We know what a heavy burden we have shouldered, we know how long a path must be traveled, and therefore let us echo our forefather [poet Henrik Visnapuu] and say: 'Save, oh Lord, the land of Maarjamaa!'"

After such "revelations" it is not very difficult to see why even those who at one time joined the gangs of "forest brothers", whose bloody crimes still cause a shudder today, are starting to "demand their rights" in the republic. One of these people was recently mentioned in the newspaper VECHERNIY TALLIN. The subject was one Olev Turu. Some 31 years after being convicted, he appealed to the law enforcement organs with a polite request that they restore to him a little blue, black, and white tabletop flag that his favorite aunt gave him when he was a child, which was confiscated on his arrest. In order to satisfy this request it was necessary to extract from the archives several weighty tomes about the case in which Olev Turu was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment in 1957, with subsequent infringement of his rights.

Alas, the flag was not to be found in the archives. But there was a detailed description of what was confiscated: a revolver, a pistol, bullets, a sheath knife, a semiautomatic seven-round rifle.... The file describes in detail Olev Turu's gravest crime—the murder, by him personally, of Karl Martson, chief of the horse unit at the "Piyri" kolkhoz and father of two little girls. The murderer was in hiding for 6 and ½ years, moving around among the gangs of "forest brothers." These bands of outlaws wandered the forests and marshes robbing dairies, stores, and their fellow villagers. In short, Olev Turu perpetrated acts so vile that it would take a lifetime to wash them away. But now he clearly feels more sure of himself. How else is one to understand this idealistic appeal to the archives of the competent bodies?

For the sake of fairness, mention should be made of the 13th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, which the People's Front leaders did not like. Why not? V.I. Vyalyas' report self-critically analyzed the Central Committee's activity since the September plenum, named the blunders that occurred, and noted the passivity and timidity. Particular emphasis was placed on the responsibility of Communists for upholding the Leninist principles of internationalism and party building and strengthening party discipline. The plenum acknowledged that extremist groupings have formed in the republic that lust for power or seek cheap popularity at any price. It is necessary to go to the masses, defend the truth, persuade people, step up party political work—that is the main requirement for party members.

The opinion of a PRAVDA reader from Tartu on this point is interesting: "Pluralism of opinions is fine," he writes. "But a Communist must act only within the framework of the CPSU statutes. V.I. Lenin once said, coming out against those who preach anarchic disorder under the flag of freedom of discussion: 'Everyone is free to write and say whatever he likes, without the slightest restriction. But every free union (including a party) is also free to expel those members who use the party's name to preach antiparty views.'"

Indeed, is it not time everyone made his own principled choice? For the sake of strengthening party ranks, so as not to turn the party into a mere debating society.

The report to the 13th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum spoke of errors in some of the mass media. There was condemnation, albeit in cautious terms, of the "politically unethical" cartoon in the newspaper MAALEHT, particular items in the journals BIKERKAAR, and LOOMING, and television and radio programs. Local journalists and the creative intelligentsia were called upon to channel their capabilities and talent into rallying all social forces and public movements and to set an example of decency and mutual respect.

One cannot but agree that this call is sensible. But unfortunately, by no means everyone heeded it. Since then, the republic's inhabitants have continued to feel the force of "revelatory" tidal waves breaking from the newspapers, radio and television, and public platforms. Passions still call the tune in Estonia. It is no accident that Vayno Iosipovich Vyalyas, addressing television viewers and radio listeners again on 7 March, called on everyone to show prudence and to rally. Roundly condemning the extremist positions of the so-called national independence party, as well as some of the leaders of the society for the preservation of ancient monuments, he stressed in his address: "It is incumbent on us to stop those who are pushing society toward schism, who are taking risky gambles in the political game. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee dissociates itself firmly from all extremes, and calls on Communists and primary party organizations not to give way to emotion, but to assess the situation soberly and prevent a drift toward destabilization."

How did the People's Front respond to this? We have in front of us the newspaper MOLODEZH ESTONII for 18 March, which carries the People's Front theses for the elections. What do they consist of? They contain a flagrant call to disregard the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 26 November 1988 and to put into practice the decision of the republic supreme soviet. They also include these words: "Restructuring in the Soviet Union is taking on the nature of a national liberation movement in many of the union republics. The agenda includes a substantial change in relations of ownership and power, the exercise of the peoples' right to self-determination, and the creation of new democratic institutions based on the people's movements." And another phrase: "The time has now come once again to create the foundations of the economic and political life of a free and prosperous Estonian state...."

No, the People's Front does not want to talk about the accumulated problems on equal, democratic terms. Its leaders are constantly getting carried away. And that worries people.

The watchword "consolidation" is more relevant than ever before in Estonia. It can be heard everywhere. It is gratifying that the working class is taking firm control of the fate of restructuring in the republic. It is resolutely rejecting any compromise with national egotism and with manifestations of chauvinism, any policy of passivity and appeasement.

Not everything is simple in Estonia. That is true. But the republic Communist Party has nearly 70 years of struggle for soviet power behind it. And today it is true to the Leninist principles of internationalism, its people, and the cause of revolutionary renewal. We feel that with its cohesion and adherence to principle, it will succeed in protecting itself firmly against the influence and adherence of opportunist, politically immature, and unstable elements. Certain lessons to be drawn from what is happening in Estonia show irrefutably that common goals can be achieved only through joint constructive work, through unity on the CPSU platform. The party began restructuring, and it is fully determined firmly and consistently to put it into practice.

We are sure that the Estonian Communist Party will be able to rally the republic's healthy forces and direct them toward the resolution of the complex and difficult tasks of restructuring.

Lithuanian Consumer Services Decentralization Urged

LD2203140089

[Editorial Report] Vilnius TIESA on 2 February 1989 on page 2 publishes a 900 word article by Teodoras Martinkus, deputy Vilnius City Soviet, entitled "Does a Shoe Repairman Need a Ministry?," under the rubric "The Situation Demands a Solution," discussing the need for decentralization within the Lithuanian Consumer Products Ministry.

"Consumer services, as offshoots of independent national economy branches, are reaching their 60th year. Their strictly centralized system of administration, which continued to function to the present time, was founded at that time. In its day, it played a positive role compatible with the economic principles dominant prior to the restructuring period."

The author notes: "But times are changing. Our union also played a certain role in the mechanism, now deservedly referred to as bureaucracy. We were obliged to diligently follow orders from the top, as a complicated part of a higher administrative system. Formally, we were under a double jurisdiction, consisting of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Ministry of Consumer Services, and the city executive committee."

The author explains: "However, actual basic authorization by the executive committee limited our right to appoint and dismiss leading union workers, decide how the existing 1st floor area could be used for public services, or make decisions regarding consumer-oriented problems on construction in new areas."

He notes: "We had hopes of becoming true owners of city consumer services, under economic accountability and finance conditions, but although such independence existed in documents, it was not true in practice."

The difference from earlier times emerged as follows: "Earlier accounting to the ministry's central fund was chanelled from the profit funds of city consumer service enterprise funds. After changing to so-called independence, these accounts are carried out from enterprise economic accounting funds (corresponding sums have not changed under accounting).

Decisions regarding basic consumer services questions are the center's prerogative."

The author questions this setup: "Why do we still think it is the union, but not the collective of enterprises, which makes up the union, and finally, not the local councils, but the ministry specialists, who are better aware of what a city dweller can expect from consumer services people, what types of services are required, and what compensation a consumer services specialist can expect for his work.?" The author notes, the ministry resolves such questions currently, just as it had done in the past. According to ministry norms, "the basic portion of an enterprise's funds was tranferred into centralized funds then, as it is being done now." He adds: "during the past 3 years, about R3 million was taken from union funds. Only one-fifth of this sum was returned as capital investment."

The author states: "Although union enterprises were strong financially, they were forced by the city executive committee to expand their studios, workshops, and network divisions. Centralized funds are used to cover the expenditures of those republic consumer service

combines that operate in the red. Thus, a Vilnius shoe repairman, hairdresser, or photographer is forced to turn over part of his earnings to someone who is either unable or unwilling to manage properly." The author adds: "It is not all that important to try that hard, of course, when getting all this needed aid."

The author agrees with the concept of joining local soviets and labor collectives to administer city residents' consumer affairs: "We began to think about granting genuine, not lip-service, rights to enterprises, and liberating ourselves from ministerial jurisdiction. We concluded it to be essential for consumer service enterprises to join a territorial inter-economic union, to be established under the Vilnius City Executive Committee."

Accordingly, the idea was supported by the city executive committee, a large number of aministrative departments, and "even the Consumer Services Ministry did not object."

The author elaborates: "Some problems arose while attempting to implement the idea. The ministry attempted to convince enterprise chiefs they should not even attempt to refuse ministerial jurisdiction. Enterprise chiefs and labor council chairmen were assembled and told it was too soon to start this type of union. It was promised to decrease material and technical servicing, in spite of the fact that a new republic material and technical enterprise had been established after reduction of ministerial apparatus, which became the principal branch keeper of material and technical funds. It was argued that enterprises would have to continue fund transfers to the ministry's centralized fund directly, rather than through a union. It was even promised to permit establishment of cooperatives to replace existing shops."

The author observes that this promise is being implemented in part: "The only shoe repair shop in Zirmunai (45 Zirmunai Street), which used to extend between R60,000-100,000 worth of services per annum to local residents, has been transferred to cooperative workers. These now make new shoes, that are sold outside the republic. The rest of the shoe shop handles minor repairs only; a notice on the door announces major shoe repairs and zipper replacements are handled by the Seskine shop. Part of the repair shop on Prusai Street has also been transferred to cooperative workers.

The author points out: "The ministry strives to retain only a few individuals for work on the executive committee, who may give advice on how to develop consumer services within the city while the ministry continues to centralize capital, using its own judgement to determine what amount should remain in the enterprises, what construction should be undertaken, for whom facilities would be provided, and what economic standards should be set for one enterprise or another." The author asks: "Should local consumer services' administrative organs be relegated to an appendage-like position, totally dependent upon departmental whims, leaving labor collectives not the actual managers of the situation at hand?"

The author concludes by stating: "Under these conditions, economic sovereignty will exist only on paper, just as it has done to date."

Draft Moldavian Language Laws Near Completion

PM2203164389 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 12 Mar 89 p 1

[Unnamed correspondent account of interview with I.G. Borshchevich, Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy and member of the Standing Commission on Interethnic Relations and Internationalist Education; date and place of interview not given, first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA introduction]

[Text] The editorial office is receiving more and more letters in which readers ask us to tell them what stage the compilation of the draft laws "On the Status of the Moldavian Language" and "On the Functions of the Moldavian, Russian, and Other Languages on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR" has reached. In this connection, our correspondent has asked I.G. Borshchevich, Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy and member of the Standing Commission on Interethnic Relations and Internationalist Education, for an interview. This is what he said:

As is known, at the beginning of this month a joint session of three Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions—the Legislative Proposals Commission, the Commission on Questions of Interethnic Relations and Internationalist Education, and the Commission on Public Education, Science, and Culture—was held. More than 20 specialists—linguists, philosophers, historians, writers, and journalists were invited to attend the aforementioned session which, incidentally, was the third that has been held. A group of Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies presented information on the progress of work on the draft laws about which you are asking. Apart from the deputies, writers Mikhay Chimpoy, Nikolae Dabizha, and Yuriy Grekov, Doctor of Juridical Sciences Yevgeniy Martynchek, and Candidate of Philological Sciences Emil Myndykanu presented their opinions.

At present, both drafts are nearing completion. Numerous letters received from the population have been taken into account during their compilation. In an atmosphere marked by a pluralism of opinions and constructive polemics, Pavel Barbalat, Moldavian SSR deputy minister of justice; Doctor of Philological Sciences Professor Silviu Berezhan, director of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature; and Candidate of Philological Sciences reader Nikolae Matkash,

head of the I. Kryange Kishinev Pedagogical Institute chair of Moldavian language, are working competently and with expert knowledge alongside the deputies.

I am able to tell you that the full text of both draft laws will be discussed at the next session of the aforementioned commissions 15-16 March, to which many specialists, scientists, writers, and journalists have been invited.

The drafts will then be edited, taking into account critical remarks that have been submitted, and passed to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for publication in the republican press and discussion by the people.

In connection with what has been said, the aforementioned standing commissions are expecting from citizens specific, objective proposals and ideas to facilitate the successful completion and adoption of the historic laws aimed at strengthening friendship between all people of goodwill who live and work in our republic, regardless of their national origin.

Continuing Destabilization Seen in Kishinev

PM2303094789 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 3

[ATEM report: "Clear Stance Required"]

[Text] Kishinev witnessed an unsanctioned rally followed by a procession along Lenin Prospect involving up to 5,000 people, according to official statistics, on 8 March. As they made their way to Liberation Square the demonstrators filled the capital's main street, thereby blocking traffic on this holiday for several hours.

The demonstrators carried slogans demanding that Moldavian be decreed the official language and that it be written in Roman script. There were also appeals of a different stamp, for example, the slogan "Down with colonization!"(?) Insulting remarks about certain republic leaders were also to be heard. All this was opportunistically disguised behind congratulations to M.S. Gorbachev.

These events give grounds for the following conclusion to be drawn: The situation in the city now is not only not stabilizing but is continuing to destabilize. In these conditions the number of crimes is continuing to grow and antisocial elements are becoming more and more active. But it goes further than that. How can you build a law-governed state if those who say they want it are unwilling to abandon the habit of sticking political labels on people? It is also noteworthy that some participants in such rallies and processions stubbornly refuse to look at official material and the decision of the city soviet session or pay heed, finally, to the speech by S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, on republic television and radio, in which it was repeatedly reported that Moldavian SSR draft laws on the status of the Moldavian language in the republic and on the functions of other languages on the territory of the Moldavian Republic are now being drawn up. Three permanent commissions of the republic supreme soviet involving a broad range of specialists and the public are presently working on these documents. Nevertheless these issues continue to be plugged by rally participants, which only leads to completely unnecessary inflaming of passions and agitates the population. The natural question is: Who is resorting to strong-arm methods in a bid to speed up the solution of these problems? Who does it benefit? Who is urging people to extremes that run counter to common sense? After all, there were many women with children, including those in baby buggies, among the participants in the procession.

The overwhelming majority of city inhabitants and visitors to Kishinev, who are indignant at the disturbance of the peace and the spoiled holiday atmosphere, are asking whether Soviet rule exists in the city. Will order and people's peaceful recreation be finally safeguarded here? Why are the law enforcement agencies not exposing and naming the actual organizers of such disturbances so that the public may know who they are and damages may be sought from them for the damage caused to the city's transport organizations?

Those who think that party committees are lacking in a firm and consistent stance in the prevailing situation are right. Moreover, some of them are even dodging the issue, which does serious harm to the effectiveness of ideological and political work.

There are Communists and many schoolchildren and students among the rally-goers. To what extent does this correlate to the party's program and rules? How do the party committees assess the manifest connivance of school, college, and technical institute directors and VUZ [higher educational institution] rectors? And how does the Ministry of Culture react to the fact that the mass cultural events taking place in the capital's concert halls quite often take the form of political actions with concomitant inflaming of passions—particularly as such events are generally broadcast live on television.

These questions, as numerous appeals by citizens to official bodies indicate, are generating concern in the public of not just Kishinev but the whole republic.

Investigation of 26 Feb Kishinev Disturbances

PM2203163189 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 12 Mar 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Moldavian SSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] An investigation group, which was set up to investigate crude violations of public order on 26 February in Kishinev during an unauthorized rally and march, has taken a number of preliminary investigation steps to identify the organizers of these illegal actions

and those who took an active part in them. On the basis of more than 100 group photographs and a video recording, which the investigators have at their disposal, and on the basis of witness accounts, the identities of the violators of public order are being established. Special attention is being paid to identifying those who persistently defied the legitimate demands of militia workers and other representatives of the authorities to stop violating the law or incited others to hooliganism and disobedience.

Measures are being taken to ascertain the extent of the damage caused as a result of the disruption of public transport. A certain amount of evidence has been obtained which confirms the use of violence by the rally and march participants against internal affairs organ workers seeking to maintain law and order. A medical examination for legal purposes has established that 13 of them have sustained bodily injuries. In accordance with the Law on Criminal Procedure, people involved in the aforesaid events as well as eyewitnesses are being interrogated. On the basis of their testimonies a picture of what actually happened is being reconstructed and the motives which led people to take part in group violations of public order are being clarified. Some of the people who have been interrogated claim that their presence in the crowd was accidental. For instance, Ch., a medical institute student, featured in the front row of the demonstrators on a photograph, has stated that on that day he was working at the library named for Krupskaya. On his way to lunch he saw a gathering of people at the "Patriya" movie theater and approached out of curiosity. When the crowd spread out in organized fashion and set out toward the square, he found himself at the front. What is more, they grabbed him by the arms and he was forced to go along. He was afraid to resist, as a citizen behind him who had called for reason had been beaten.

Usually people claim that they did not know about criminal liability for such actions and thought they merely carried administrative penalties.

All these testimonies are being checked out and verified against other evidence with the aim of objectively ascertaining the role and extent of guilt of each individual. On the basis of this, the question of these people's liability will be determined in the further course of the investigation. The criminal case investigation continues.

In connection with people pleading ignorance of the law, the Moldavian SSR Prosecutor's Office deems it necessary once again to bring the content of the following article of the Moldavian SSR Criminal Code to the attention of all citizens:

"Article 203/3: The Organization or Active Participation in Group Actions Violating Public Order.

"The organization and, likewise, the active participation in group actions which crudely violate public order, or are linked with obvious failure to comply with the legitimate demands of representatives of the authorities, or entail the disruption of traffic or the operation of state or public enterprises, institutions, or organizations, are punishable by deprivation of liberty for a period of up to 3 years or correctional labor for a period of up to 2 years, or a fine of up to R300."

Moldavian Monastery Returned to Orthodox Church

LD2103074289 Moscow TASS in English 0736 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Kishinev March 21 TASS—The Assumption Monastery in Keprianu, Soviet Moldavia, has resumed its functioning after a 26-year interval. By a decision of the republic's government it has been handed back to the Russian Orthodox Church.

The monastery was founded in 1545. A fine architectural ensemble sprang up over the four centuries of its existence around the first temple—the Church of Assumption. A St George church, a refectory, rector's residence, brethren's cells, and economic outbuildings emerged later on.

The reopened monastery has already received the first 15 monks. The monastic economy is being revived. The monks have acquired agrarian machinery and began to till 15 hectares of arable land allotted to the monastery.

The altar of the Assumption Church in which services have been resumed was consecrated by Metropolitan Serapion of Kishinev and Moldavia.

"Just as throughout its entire millennium-long history," Metropolitan Serapion told a TASS correspondent, "the Russian Orthodox Church nowadays brings up its children in the spirit of love and devotion to the motherland, and teaches them to take care of the historical legacy of the native land. We all church people regard with profound inspiration the changes in relationships between the state and church. A tangible result of this is the emergence of new religious communities, the building of churches, and the opening of monasteries."

Ukrainian 'Memorial' Society Founded

AU2003124389 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Mar 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "The 'Memorial' Society Has Been Founded"]

[Text] To ascertain the names of people innocently victimized in the times of repression, to perpetuate their memory, to assist the survivors—this is an incomplete list of the issues which will be addressed by the Ukrainian "Memorial" Historical Enlightenment Society, founded at a republic-level constituent conference in Kiev on 4 March. Acting as the organizers were the Ukrainian SSR Cinematographers Union, the Ukrainian

SSR Writers Union, the Ukrainian SSR Theater Figures Union, the Ukrainian SSR Architects Union, the Ukrainian Culture Fund, and other organizations.

Ukraine Restructures Nature Protection System

LD2203145689 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Kiev March 22 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya reports:

The Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the Ukrainian government have passed a resolution on fundamental restructuring of the nature protection system in the Ukraine. This document offers a package of scientific, economic and legal measures to protect environment. They include a broad introduction of waste-free technologies at enterprises, a comprehensive use of natural raw materials, better ecological education of the population and increased responsibility for the pollution of environment.

These measures were prompted by the difficult ecological situation in the Ukraine which manufactures more than 17 percent of industrial and 22 percent of agricultural products in the Soviet Union. The critical situation was caused by extensive methods of industrial development characteristic of the recent past.

In the past few years, the Ukraine has begun to pay more attention to environmental protection and is now using its natural resources more rationally. A TASS correspondent was told at the Ukrainian Council of Ministers that despite constant industrial growth over the past three years, the intake of water for economic needs was reduced by three billion cubic metres. Harmful pollutants spewed into the atmosphere decreased by 800,000 tons and more than 70,000 hectares of farmland were recultivated.

However, many other problems remain. Since the previous environmental protection system did not live up to its name, the Ukrainian government decided to set up a state committee for the protection of nature. It has broad powers. The committee and its local branches have the right veto the construction, modernisation and expansion of economic facilities which can harm the environment.

Ukraine To Preserve National Monuments

LD2303094389 Moscow TASS in English 0829 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Kiev March 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Korobchak:

A new historical and cultural preserve is to include a complex of historical, cultural and natural monuments in the Cherkassk region, the Ukrainian republican government has announced.

The area associated with great Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko and mentioned by him in numerous poems, boasts a wealth of legends connected with the ancient city of Chigirin which was once located here. Chigirin acted as the country's capital during the liberation war waged by the people from 1648 to 1654.

The residence of prominent Ukrainian statesman and military leader Getman Bogdan Khmelnitskiy (1595-1657) was located on a rocky hill in the centre of Chigirin. It was there that he received Russian envoys on the eve of convening the famous Pereyaslav council which adopted the historic decision on the union of the Ukraine and Russia. Ruins of the former fortifications can still be seen.

Another relic dating back to the 17th century is St. Elijah's Church built by the Cossacks in the outlying village of Subbotov in accordance with drawings by Khmelnitskiy himself. Placed on the land of Khmelnitskiy's family estate it now houses the Getman's burial vault.

The church is a brilliant specimen of early Ukrainian baroque. While preparing for its restoration, specialists turned to the drawings of the church made by Taras Shevchenko who used to come to Subbotov and was charmed by the sight.

The Chigirin preserve is the twenty third in the Ukraine. Among the others, the world-famous Sophia Cathedral of Kiev is listed by UNESCO among monuments of international significance and part of mankind's common heritage.

The cities of Novgorod-Severskiy and Putivl are also famous for their unique structures connected with the events described in the historical tale of Prince Igor's host. Lvov, Khernigov, Pereyaslav-Khmelnitskiy and many other ancient places in the area also abound in historical and cultural monuments.

Chernobyl Accident 'Teaches Us Responsibility'

PM2003083589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by PRAVDA science desk editor V. Gubarev: "Our Anguish"]

[Text] The ordeal of Chernobyl has been experienced by everyone, not only those who happened to be in the path of the radioactive cloud released from deep inside the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] No 4 power unit, but also by those who pause for even a second to ponder events.

It must be admitted that there are some people who try to prove that Chernobyl has already receded into the past: It is time we forgot about it, they say—the damaged power unit has been sealed, the contamination zone has

been defined, decontamination work is being done, mistakes have been corrected, and now the Chernobyl AES reactors are operating reliably....

There can be no question that a gigantic amount of work has been done to deal with the accident's consequences, but we cannot set our minds at rest because it will take many more years before the tragedy recedes into the past. The main task is to draw all conclusions from the lessons of the accident. This demands painstaking and responsible work inside the contamination zones and when planning, building, and operating AES's.

V. Zobnin from Belorussia sent in a letter which says, in particular: "Numerous foodstuffs are produced in enhanced radiation regions, but neither stores nor markets provide any information on the degree of contamination and the acceptable norms. There are fears that many products are not monitored at all. All this is shrouded in secrecy. So what is the lesson we have learned from Chernobyl? Why has no map been published to show territorial radioactive contamination?"

Such a map of Belorussia was recently published in the local press; today we offer information about the entire contamination zone....

A special role has been assigned in this context to the monitoring of people's health. I believe that the USSR Ministry of Health must supply detailed information to the population of every region about the risks they run if they fail to meticulously obey the medical officers' recommendations. Unfortunately, such information is scant, as is evidenced by the letters sent to PRAVDA by M. Lukyanova, B. Guryev, and V. and K. Svadkovskiy from Belorussia; Bryansk Oblast residents Zh. Ivanov and M. Buturlin; N. Shcherban, V. Tikhomirov, and I. Kostenko from Kiev; and many others.

Rigorous monitoring of foodstuffs has not been effectively instituted everywhere. "There are laboratories at rayon, oblast, and republic level," A. Shcherbanyuk writes. "Their purpose is to strictly and vigilantly monitor the maximum permissible concentration of radioactive elements in agricultural produce. There is strict accountability for the transmission of information but, alas, only on paper. We toured a number of rayons and found out: The equipment has neither been calibrated nor checked! The error margin is 20-25 percent (?!). So much for accountability. Have we again failed to learn anything?"

The Chernobyl tragedy generated a sharp debate about the state of nuclear power engineering in the country. There are diametrically opposed points of view. Some claim that it is necessary to close down all AES's and build no more new ones. Others—mainly scientists and specialists—testify: It is impossible to imagine power engineering without AES's not only in our country but also in the world, and therefore it is necessary to build more nuclear power stations. The truth, as our forebears used to say, lies somewhere in the middle.... Fair enough, we cannot manage without AES's, but why plan to build them in densely populated regions or in seismic zones? Why is the quality of construction so poor, and how many equipment rejects end up in AES's? Finally, why such fear from the public, which is entitled to demand broad discussion of every planned nuclear power station?

We have yet to become accustomed to debates, to objective and comprehensive discussion of problems. Emotions gain the upper hand more often than not, and it is therefore exceptionally difficult to find the best solution. This means that a bridge across the gap must be build from both sides. The scientists and specialists should patiently substantiate and explain their views, take their opponents' arguments into account, and amend their plans. As for the public, it ought to realistically appraise the situation and gain a deeper understanding of the essence of contemporary scientific and technical progress. This requires knowledge which, unfortunately, is lacking in many people. After all, we are living not in the Stone Age but in the final years of the 20th century, when it is no longer possible to manage without cosmonautics, nuclear power engineering, electronics, and biotechnology.

Chernobyl teaches us responsibility. Even though almost 3 years have passed since that tragic day, the urgency of that responsibility remains undiminished—each and every one of us must display it today to the full.

Hydrometeorology Official's Outlook

18610387b Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Yu. Izrael, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Hydrometeorology: "The Past and the Prognosis for the Future"]

[Text] Almost 3 years have now passed since the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant. However, radioactive contamination of the natural environment over a sizable territory remains a technical and social problem. Unfortunately, the stress in this territory will persist for a long time to come. This is why proposals on the life and economic operations of many thousands of people in the contaminated area need to be formulated.

It is known that immediately after the Chernobyl accident massive measurements of contamination of the atmosphere and terrain were initiated on an emergency basis, and subsequently so were comprehensive studies of radioactivity of all ecosystems, including plants.

The most up-to-date readings of the radiation situation were taken by chemical defense troops on the grounds of the Chernobyl AES and the immediately adjacent area by ground-based means. The USSR Goskomgidromet [State Committee for Hydrometeorology] conducted operations in a large area (at hundreds of weather stations and

through airborne means) practically over the entire territory of the country, which made it possible to measure a considerable number of additional "radioactive hot spots" along with the main contaminated zone.

The first complete map of the immediate trail (up to 100 kilometers from the site of the accident) was submitted to the government commission by the Goskomgidromet as early as 2 May 1986, as soon as it became possible to separate with adequate clarity the effect of the plume from ground contamination (radioactivity in the atmosphere due to the continuing emission of radioactive gases). Previously, beginning 26 April, data on the radiation field at the altitude of plane and helicopter flights (200 to 3,000 meters) and scattered ground measurement data were submitted.

As early as the first days (approximately 7 to 10 days), the direction of the wind changed by 360° actually making a full circle. This caused a very wide scattering of radioactivity. In places where rains fell at the time sizable "hot spots" of radioactive contamination emerged.

At the time of the accident, an instantaneous discharge of radioactive fallout occurred, which spread to the western direction, accounting for a narrow oblong area of increased radioactive contamination of terrain in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. Subsequently, on 26 and 27 April the migration of radioactive matter from the reactor zone proceeded in the form of a plume in the northwestern direction over the territory of the Belorussian SSR, the direction changing to northeastern by 28-29 April, and by the end of 29 April (in part, in the beginning of 29 April) and 30 April to southeast and south.

The most powerful discharge of radioactive products from the unit affected by the accident was noted in the first 2 to 3 days after the accident in the northwestern and northeastern directions. The height of the plume on 27 April, according to airplane data, exceeded 1200 meters.

Formation of the bulk of the radioactive fallout in the closest zone ended in the first 4-5 days. However, the complete formation of the radioactive "plume" and "hot spots" continued over the entire month of May.

The surveys of gamma radiation made were the main basis for urgent decisions to be made by the commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the government commission.

In several days, a mass sampling of soil from the contaminated territory began with their subsequent analysis in various laboratories (gamma-spectrometry and radiation chemistry), which made it possible to produce maps of isotope contamination of terrain. Agencies of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, the USSR Ministry of Public Health, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Ukraininan SSR Academy of Sciences, the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Defense, the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Nuclear Energy, the Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry of the USSR, and the USSR Gosagroprom [State Agro-Industrial Committee] took part in this gigantic work. The GEOKhI [Geochemistry and Analytical Chemistry Institute] of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the PGO [Scientific Production Association] Aerogeologiya of the USSR Ministry of Geology joined in taking aerial surveys of gamma radiation.

By now, the total number of samples measured has exceeded one hundred thousand (as it is, every sample amounts to many hours of work!).

The data obtained made it possible to solve important operational and scientific problems, and were the foundation for the main decisions on evacuating the populace, establishing the procedures for residence and economic operations in the contaminated area, as well as for undertaking protective and decontamination measures.

Due to the high levels of contamination and continuous wind shifts which were carrying the radiation away from the damagaed reactor the decision was made to evacuate the population from the 30-kilometer zone around the plant.

A generalized (based on many surveys) map of the dose rate of gamma-radiation adjusted to 10 May 1986 (air-equivalent roentgen meters were used to measure the capacity of doses of gamma-radiation) was the basis for making many decisions. It was the one on the base on which the isoline for evacuating the populace was ultimately determined (over 5 milliroentgens per hour), the reserved zone (20 milliroentgens per hour), and control zone (3 to 5 milliroentgens per hour) with the temporary evacuation of a part of the populace (pregnant women and children).

The fallout was recorded in many regions of the Western part of the European territory of the USSR. At the USSR Goskomgidromet stations, the precipitation or contamination of the air by iodine-131 was registered until 2 May 1986 in the Ukraine—in Kiev, Vinnitsa, Ivano-Frankovsk, Rovno; in Belorussia—in Minsk, Brest, Mogilev; in the Baltic Area—in Klaypeda, Riga, and many other cities. In most cases, such contamination was short-term in nature. It was associated with the contamination of migrating air masses (and it did not pose a threat to the populace).

Let me point out that iodine-131 with a half-life of 8 days was dangerous (for the thyroid gland) in the nearby zone, especially if milk was consumed. This required that checks for its presence in milk be particularly strict.

Appreciable radioactive fallout with rains reached foreign countries—Austria, the FRG, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Poland, Romania, and Finland. The highest contamination there amounted to about 1 curie per square kilometer for cesium-137.

As was already noted, surveys of the radiological situation in the European territory of the USSR showed contaminated zones (apart from the main, where radiation levels were relatively high): to the northeast of the main zone (at the junction of Mogilev, Gomel, and Bryansk Oblasts, to the south of the city of Orel, to the south of the city of Tula (Plavsk); to the west of the main zone (in the area of Pinsk, in the area of Rovno); to the south and southwest of the main zone (in the area of Belaya Tserkov and Kanev, in the area of Ivano-Frankovsk, and subsequently in the area of the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland, on the Kola Peninsula, and in the Caucasus). The entire contaminated area within the 0.2 milliroentgen per hour isometric line in the initial days amounted to about 200,000 km^2.

In June 1986, isotope analysis of soil samples from remote areas was initiated on a mass scale. As early as as 14-15 June, it was established that the composition of radioactive contamination in these areas is quite perceptibly enriched with the long-lived isotopes cesium-137 and cesium-134. The content of these radionucleides came up to 50 percent of the overall content of radionucleides in the samples.

Let me point out that temporary norms for the density of soil contamination were established as early as May 1986: for cesium-137, 7 (subsequently 15), for strontium-90, 3.0, for plutonium-239 and plutonium-240, 0.1 curies per square kilometer.

Specialists from the USSR Ministry of Public Health measured the doses received by every person with individual dosimeters (SICh) which determined the quantity of cesium-137, the most common radionucleide recently accumulated in the human organism.

Effective equivalent doses of external and internal radiation exposure of people for the first year and subsequent years were estimated in hundreds of settlements. A diligent study of the isotope composition and gamma fields made it possible to do this with an adequate degree of precision.

Individual doses of radiation (internal and external) accumulated by the fall of 1988 by a majority of the populace amounted on the average to 5.3 rem. No incidence of radiation sickness in any form has been found among the populace.

As a result of the large-scale decontamination work and agricultural reclamation work and the application to contaminated soil of special substances that bind cesium (or retard its movement through food chains), the radiation situation has begun to stabilize. Gradually the basic components of contamination that are left are the long-lived radionuclides cesium-137 and strontium-90 (with a half life of about 30 years) and in the restricted zone—plutonium with an extremely long half life.

There arose a need to develop recommendations for extended work and life activity in areas under strict monitoring of the area polluted with cesium-137 since this is the radionuclide that presented the main danger outside the evacuated zone (along with cesium-134). These were no longer short-term recommendations used to solve problems of immediate evacuation of population but of a life-time dose which is accumulated very slowly, almost uniformly throughout one's entire life in safe small amounts.

In connection with this the USSR Ministry of Public Health in November of 1988 adopted a decision to establish the limit of the lifetime dose of radiation for population of the disaster regions at 35 rem.

It must be emphasized that at the same time there is a certain leeway in the calculations because the calculations were done for a person born (or moved to this territory during childhood) in 1986-1989 who lived in these areas during all of his 70-75- year life.

This norm automatically stipulates (with a particular composition and quantity of contamination of the area and reclamation measures) a certain dose of radiation (internal and external) for each year of life and a particular concentration of food products in the basic diet.

For example, a density of contamination with cesium-137 of up to 15 curies per square kilometer almost everywhere meets this standard in the internal and external dose, but a concentration of cesium-137 in milk which is now established as the normative (10^{-5} curies/liter) retains a significant reserve in the dose permitted by this norm (perhaps this is very good?!), but, on the other hand, this is what explains why in the majority of cases there is a divergence—frequently milk is "worse" than the norm in zones where the contamination is less than 15 curies per square kilometer for cesium-137.

Apparently it is necessary to adopt 15 curies per square kilometer as the safe normative for contamination of the surface with cesium-137 (if a norm of 35 roentgens during a lifetime is used as a basis), and if there are active decontamination measures and intensive agro-reclamation measures (that reduce the internal dose from food products by a factor of up to 4), a dose of 35 roentgens can be provided on contaminated territories with up to 40 curies per square kilometer of cesium-137 (this depends on the soil as well), here it is necessary to have strict geophysical and medical monitoring and, if necessary, the importation of safe products, and with contamination of more than 40 curies per square kilometer (this is observed at individual points) in addition to strict measures here one cannot rule out the possibility of resettling the people from remote points where the levels of radiation are especially high. For example, in Belorussia there are 20 of these villages where about 3,000 people live. Here there must be mandatory, constant provision of the population with clean (shipped in) food products—especially milk and meat—and only then will the doses in these areas not exceed 35 roentgens.

Up to this point we have taken the path of trying to provide this population (on territories with contamination higher than 15 curies per square kilometer with safe food and additional pay. This is the path that was selected in Mogilev, Gomel and Brest oblasts (and others) and has produced positive results—people who observe the listed requirements (and they were the majority) did not receive overdoses. According to data from the newspaper SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, only 48 people (less than 0.1 percent of the residents) received higher doses.

During the accident at the Chernobyl AES conditions arose where radioactive products could also enter bodies of water both by settling directly on the water surfacer and as a result of water discharge in from the contaminated area as well as from migration via ground water.

During the first weeks and months after the accident, it was most crucial to determine the degree of contamination of the Pripyat River and the Kiev reservoir—Kiev's water source.

During the fallout a short-term increase was observed of established levels of water contamination in the Pripyat River. During the first 2 months after the accident the total beta activity of the water in the Kiev water reservoir was 1-6 x 10^{-9} curies/liter and was within the limits of the permitted norms (10^{-3} curies/liter).

Incidentally, four aircraft of the USSR Goskomgidromet working on the cloud layer contributed to the rain that fell over a large area, but up until the middle of June they had not reached the radioactive plume.

Throughout the entire chain of Dnepr reservoirs, the content of radioactive substances regularly dropped as the water proceeded downstream; in the Kremenchug reservoir the concentration of strontium-90 was about 5 x 10^{-12} curies/liter (May 1986), which is considerably below the norm (by a factor of practically 100).

The estimate of the contamination of the bottom deposits in the Dnepr water reservoirs was carried out in the middle of May 1986 and showed that the most contaminated bottom samples were in the Kiev reservoir in the section adjacent to the mouth of the Pripyat River. In the southern part of the Kiev reservoir and also in the Kanevskoye reservoir, this contamination decreases by factors of tens and hundreds.

Radioactive contamination of rivers in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and Belorussia is constantly monitored, especially those rivers whose water catchment basis have "pockets" of cesium-137 contamination. During the first spring flood (7-12 April 1987), there were maximum levels of water contamination in terms of total beta activity, which amounted to 1-1.5 x 10^{-10} curies/liter (the Iput and Besed rivers).

The contamination of fish, especially pike, was extremely low.

In order to prevent radioactive contamination of the Pripyat River, we constructed:

—blind dams and a wall in the ground that block the flow of radioactivity from the nearby zone of the Chernobyl AES (with the industrial site and the zone adjacent to it);

—blind and filtering dams (131 structures) on small rivers to trap the radionuclides.

Additionally, after the disaster of the Chernobyl AES the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources drilled around the AES at a distance of several hundred meters dozens of wells for monitoring and protection (at the depth of the water table). Observations of the concentration of strontium-90 in the water of these wells for 2 years after the accident confirmed that their concentrations did not exceed the background levels. If necessary, the water from these wells can be pumped into a cooling pond.

A check on the work of the protective structures demonstrated the adequate effectiveness of the structures, especially those that separate the immediate zone of the Chernobyl AES, which blocked practically all of the flow of radionuclides from this territory.

According to forecasts prepared by specialists of the USSR Goskomgidromet (the first such forecast was published as early as May 1986), no increase in the radioactivity in the rivers and water reservoirs in excess of the established norms was expected, which was confirmed by subsequent measurements.

The most important result of the forecast calculations for the spring flood of 1987 was that not one of the rivers of the zone was expected to exceed the permissible concentrations. Results of the measurements not only confirmed the basic conclusion of the forecast, but also showed that the actual flow of radionuclides into the Kiev reservoir was less than expected. During the spring flood of 1988 and the very early flood of 1989, the concentration of radioactivity was even lower.

Even lower concentrations of radionuclides were observed in the waters of the Black Sea (in the zone where the Dnepr flows in), and in the future they will drop even further.

Concern has been expressed about the migration of radionuclides in the soil. The horizontal migration turned out to be insignificant as regards the zones used as standards for contamination—the isolines remained practically unchanged as a result of migration.

In general, the coefficients for the wind-borne ascent of radioactivity was insignificant, and therefore the concentrations of the various isotopes (including plutonium) in the air in the restricted zone was below permissible levels virtually everywhere even at wind velocities of up to 10 meters per second.

Studies of contaminated territory, soils, the rivers flowing through this zone, and the plant cover continue.

The results of airborne and ground studies conducted in 1988 over an area of about 350,000 square kilometers mainly confirmed and augmented data obtained earlier.

No significant changes were found in the positions of the isolines for density of local cesium-137 at 15 and 40 curies per square kilometer, strontium-90 at 3 curies per square kilometer and plutonium-239, -240 at 01[sic] curies per square kilometer.

When plotting the isolines for density of contamination of areas with cesium-137, use was made of the results of analysis of soil samples taken from more than 3,600 populated areas, data from airborne gamma-spectrometric reconnaissance, and results from studies of radioactive contamination of forests and farm land.

The total area of zones contaminated with cesium-137 at 15 curies per square kilometer or more is about 10,000 square kilometers (2,000 square kilometers in the RSFSR, 1,500 square kilometers in the Ukrainian SSR, including 500 square kilometers in the evacuated zone, and 7,000 square kilometers in the Belorussian SSR, including 3,000 square kilometers in the evacuated zone) (see map). A total of about 640 populated areas with a population of more than 230,000 are located in this zone (outside the evacuated zone).

In the above areas contaminated with cesium-137 due to the accident, radiation levels are still elevated (however, they are still significantly below permissible levels). Thus, in Zlynka and Nikolayevka (in Bryansk Oblast), gamma radiation is 0.15 and 0.35 milliroentgens per hour, respectively; in Vysokaya Borka and Selishche (Mogilev Oblast) 0.25 milliroentgens per hour, in Malyye Kleshchi and Malyye Minky (Zhitomir Oblast) 0.2 to 0.25 milliroentgens per hour, in the evacuated city of Chernobyl (Kiev Oblast) 0.04 to 0.17 milliroentgens per hour, and in Pripyat city the radiation level is 0.1 to 1.6 milliroentgens per hour.

In Slavutich city, which was built for the power plant workers at the Chernobyl AES, the radiation level is close to the background level at 0.015 to 0.03 milliroentgens per hour. In the forest adjacent to the city on the west and east, there are "hot/spots" of somewhat higher contamination (but with levels still below permissible levels) in which radiation levels stand at 0.18 to 0.20 milliroentgens per hour. This is not an obstacle to staying in the city or walking in the suburbs. Here it should be borne in mind that in the "hot/spot" to the east, decontamination has been carried out and the forest felled, while the "hot/spot" to the west is fenced off.

Elevated levels of contamination (3 curies per square kilometer for strontium-90 and 0.1 curie per square kilometer for plutonium-239, -240) are not found everywhere, and these radionuclides are localized within the evacuated zone (a 30-kilometer zone and certain sections locally, adjacent to it). During the first year a total of 186 populated areas in the evacuated zone were evacuated (116,000 people), including 75 (90,000 people) in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, 107 (25,000 people) in the Belorussian SSR, and 4 (1,000 people) in the RSFSR. At this time the populations of 14 populated areas have been re-evacuated (12 in the Belorussian SSR and 2 in the Ukrainian SSR). Judging by the radiation situation in the southern part of the 30-kilometer zone there are still more than 10 villages where a safe return of the population may be possible (the villages of Kupovatoye, Gorodishche, Bychki, Glinka, Dibrovo, Zamoshnya et al).

Results of work conducted during 1988 have made it possible additionally to define the contours of "cesium hotspots" with a level of contamination of 5 to 15 curies per square kilometer, and also less severe "hot/spots." The total area contaminated with cesium-137 at 5 to 15 curies per square kilometer is about 21,000 square kilometers. Work to monitor radioactivity and agricultural measures will continue during 1989. More than 10,000 people will be involved in decontamination work.

In order to further understand the general physical picture in the formation of trace radioactivity and identify the dynamics of change in the parameters of the source of emission of radionuclides carried beyond the territory of the USSR, and also in order to accomplish tasks connected with the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Authority] Convention on early notification of nuclear accidents (ratified by the USSR), the Institute of Applied Geophysics and the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control "Tayfun" Scientific Production Association has developed mathematical models for the migration and fallout of radionuclides following discharge into the atmosphere during accidents at nuclear power stations. The models are medium scale and regional, and models for migration across borders cover spatial scales of tens to several thousand kilometers.

I note again and again that radioactive contamination will always be a cause for concern, but if the norms and instructions of the USSR Ministry of Public Health and the State Agro-Industrial Committee are observed it poses no danger to the health of the population.

Thus, given the significant scales of contamination locally as the result of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, energetic and expensive measures were necessary for the cleanup.

In the region of cesium-137 contamination where a people live, that is, beyond the evacuated regions (with a contamination level of more than 15 curies per square kilometer), in the zone of so-called "strict control," prolonged work is required to decontaminate the area and carry out agricultural land reclamation work aimed at bringing doses (external and internal) down to established limits. Inadequacy in this work should be compensated for by substitution with safe products (particularly the import of milk). In this event life and farming are possible in these zones within the limits of permissible radiation limits as established by the USSR Ministry of Public Health. Of course, the accident at the Chernobyl AES has raised many different problems, not only scientific and technical but also psychological.

It is quite understandable that attitudes toward the development of nuclear power have noticeably soured in some parts of the country. Under the influence of the scientific community the Armenian AES, located in a zone of high seismicity, has been closed down, the question of halting construction at the Krymskaya AES is being discussed, and it has been decided not to permit a restart on work on construction of the third unit at the Chernobyl AES.

The CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government have also repeatedly examined with great care questions concerning the fastest possible cleanup at the Chernobyl AES (this matter is under constant attention), and questions of raising safety levels significantly at nuclear power plants (both by the adoption of technical measures and by improving personnel training). A very great deal has been done here and Soviet power engineers reported on this to M.S. Gorbachev during his visit to the Chernobyl AES in February of this year.

For it is common knowledge that, when properly operated, nuclear power is the cleanest source of energy: the volume of air needed to dilute the small amounts of emissions from a nuclear power plant (mainly inert gases) in the atmosphere down to permissible concentrations is thousands of times less than the volume of air needed during the operation of conventional thermal power stations (calculated per unit of energy generated).

It is also of great importance that during the operation of nuclear power plants there is no emission of gases that lead to global climate changes. In 1988 the scientific community throughout the world confirmed this at world conferences in Toronto (Canada) and Hamburg (the FRG) and raised the question of the need to reduce consumption of fossil fuels (coal, oil, gas) in order to reduce the "greenhouse" effect and prevent the exceptionally adverse consequences of changes in the global climate. This means that nuclear and hydroelectric power will become the main energy sources.

In many countries nuclear power engineering is already producing more than half of electrical power (in France the figure is about 75 percent, in Belgium about 65 percent), while here the figure is only 12 percent.

The lessons of Chernobyl have forced a significant (many times over) improvement in operational safety at nuclear power plants (and at new stations it is several orders of magnitude better), and taking into account the global ecological situation, nuclear power must be regarded as the most promising.

* Nuclear Danger Aboard Icebreaker Examined

18290133 Moscow VODNYY TRANSPORT in Russian 4 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with R.V. Nikolskiy, department chief at the USSR State Committee for the Safety of Work in the Nuclear Power Industry, by V. Uzelman: "Four Minutes of Nuclear Danger"; date, place not specified; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] At present, the safety of nuclear installations is of concern to everyone. In an interview with the chief of the laboratory for the safety of nuclear-powered vessels at the I. V. Kurchatov Nuclear Power Institute A. Zhuravkov ("The Atom in the Fleet and Ecology," VODNYY TRANSPORT of 25 February) we touched on the issue of safety of nuclear power plants of vessels from the standpoint of their design. However, a lot depends on the quality of operations.

Since the time nuclear icebreakers of the new generation were commissioned there have been no nuclear accidents on them. There have been no cases of discontinuing the operation of vessels due to breakdowns in the nuclear steam-generating installations. HOWEVER, ON 11 NOVEMBER OF LAST YEAR AN EVENT OCCURRED ON THE NUCLEAR ICEBREAKER "ROSSIYA" WHICH LED TO A SITUATION OF NUCLEAR DANGER. Our correspondent approached for explanations the department chief of the USSR State Committee for the Safety of Work in the Nuclear Power Industry R. V. Nikolskiy.

[Uzelman] Rostislav Viktorinovich, what does a situation of nuclear danger mean when translated from the language of specialists?

[Nikolskiy] This is a situation which could lead to a nuclear accident.

[Uzelman] How did it arise on "Rossiya?"

[Nikolskiy] The icebreaker was moored at the pier of the "Atomflot" Repair and Technology Enterprise in Murmansk picking up supplies and foodstuffs. Some scheduled maintenance work was also being done on the vessel. When a potentially nuclear-dangerous operation—the replacement of ion exchangers in the filter of fragmentary radiation at the shut-down reactor—was being carried out, the leader of the project, chief physicist V. Kuleshov, gave an erroneous command, and senior engineer-operator N. Bogdanov opened, along with the throttle, a drainage valve on another, operating reactor ("Rossiya" has two nuclear reactors). What could

be the result of it? In the event of further erroneous actions of personnel, the reactor would have been left without cooling, and the fuel could have melted down. That is to say, the first safety barrier would have been violated. Radioactivity would have spread through the power plant, and the icebreaker would have had to be decommissioned for a long period of time. However, the engagement of the emergency protection system and further actions of the crew made it possible to stabilize the situation. The situation of nuclear danger lasted about 4 minutes.

[Uzelman] What if the personnel would not have closed the drainage valve opened by mistake?

[Nikolskiy] The reactor would have been drained no sooner than in 30 to 40 minutes. During this time, the heat would have been taken away by the water filling the active zone. Even if we consider the extreme scenario of closing the valve in an untimely manner there still were several steps available which would have averted the accident.

[Uzelman] Could an explosion occur?

[Nikolskiy] There could be no explosion even from the purely theoretical point of view. Unlike the RBMK reactors which were used at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station, the nuclear reactor of vessel power plants has good features for self-containment of the consequences of a nuclear accident (self-regulation).

[Uzelman] In your view, what are the causes of the situation which emerged?

[Nikolskiy] Erroneous actions by the personnel are the main reason. The chief engineer-mechanic, chief physicist, and senior engineer-mechanic did not discharge their responsibilities as envisaged by directive documents. The command complement of the icebreaker and the shipowner relaxed the supervision of nuclear-dangerous operations. In addition, there were design deficiencies in the painting, numbering of reactors and corresponding positioning of drainage equipment, as well as the absence of mechanical catches on the valves of the drainage system.

[Uzelman] Since we are talking about the erroneous actions of personnel, does not the issue of cadre qualifications arise?

[Nikolskiy] I would like to say that the nuclear fleet has mostly highly qualified, well-versed specialists. The chief physicist V. Kuleshov has a tenure of 17 years, and knows his job. However, for 5 days before the project was done he had been on watch. He and the chief watch mechanic were not exempt from the watch duty when potentially nuclear-dangerous operations were carried out. This also played a role. In principle, it is allowed to use the chief physicist on several watches in a row, but only in extreme cases, when an accident situation exists. In this case, there was not any emergency situation. All of these violations are committed due to production tasks: finish the work as fast as possible, and sail off.

The case on "Rossiya" is a result of complacency which faded into presumption. Indeed, there had not been a case like that over the entire period of operation of nuclear icebreakers. Perhaps this began to blunt peoples' perception. However, you cannot afford to forget for one minute what you are dealing with. An interagency commission worked 2 years ago at the Murmansk Maritime Shipping Line. Having noted that there were no serious violations in the nuclear fleet, the commission stressed that the issues of nuclear safety should be emphasized particularly. Firstly, the procedural and technical documentation should be improved continuously, that is, requirements for operations with the systems ensuring nuclear safety should be made more stringent. Secondly, the enterprise itself should conduct control and prevention activities.

We have noted many times in our [inspection] protocols that such work is not conducted with sufficient vigor. We have also pointed out the causes: there are few people responsible for this at the Murmansk Shipping Line. This is something that specialists should be doing. Look, after the Chernobyl accident the Ministry of Nuclear Power Industry was created because nuclear power stations needed a special operating organization ensuring the safe performance of work, and oversight of its execution.

The third aspect is that continuous monitoring of the safety status and the implementation of measures, including technical, are needed. Operations of the Ministry of Maritime Fleet and the shipping line alike in this regard need to be improved.

If conditions for control and prevention activities in line with modern requirements are not created in the immediate future, and if greater attention is not paid to training personnel, then new violations may occur. On our part, we will demand that the most vigorous measures be taken. The State Committee for the Safety of Work in the Nuclear Power Industry is in favor of the shipping line solving all problems without waiting for bans [to be imposed]. After all, our actions are bans, and this affects economics. For example, at present the icebreaker "Sibir" may be held at the base in Murmansk until all systems ensuring nuclear safety are commissioned on it so that they comply with modern requirements.

Recently, these issues were reviewed at a joint collegium of the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet and the State Committee for Safety of Work in the Nuclear Power Industry. I hope that they will be resolved.

Returning to your question about personnel qualifications, I would like to note that this issue calls for very close attention at present. Let us take the social support for those working in the nuclear fleet. Say, the personnel

of nuclear power stations has its own settlements, day care centers, and so on. The sailors have none of this. The housing situation is particularly bad. In turn, this creates severe problems for the cadre policy.

At present, the shipping line is facing a very difficult problem; at the same time, the nuclear fleet is being expanded, and the old cadres are leaving. The specialized higher school, the Admiral S.O. Makarov Maritime Engineer Academy in Leningrad, is not graduating an adequate number of specialists. Let us also not forget the following. Nuclear vessels are engaged in the coastal trade, whereas people go to the academy primarily in order to later sail on foreign routes. When the nuclear fleet was being born it attracted enthusiasts. They were drawn by the Arctic. This is not the case at present. Cadets do everything possible in order to avoid an assignment on a nuclear vessel. Conditions should be created for people to come there; it should be made more prestigious. Otherwise, we will soon experience difficulties in getting qualified cadres. After Chernobyl, a turnaround in this direction occurred in other ministries, but not yet at the Ministry of Maritime Fleet.

[Uzelman] Rostislav Viktorinovich, you referred to the continuous analysis of the safety status as one of the aspects of safe operations at nuclear installations. Was the "Rossiya" case examined at other icebreakers?

[Nikolskiy] Yes, it was communicated to all crews. However, not all of the personnel have reviewed this case in detail. We carried out an inspection on "Sibir," and over there different people put different interpretations on the case. So, this work has to be completed.

[Uzelman] At present, supervision of the operation of vessels with nuclear power plants is carried out by inspectors of the Gosatomenergonadzora [State Committee for Safety in the Atomic Power Industry] and the [Maritime] Register of the USSR. Is such dual control justified?

[Nikolskiy] At present, it is simply necessary because the USSR Register performs technical supervision of ship safety whereas the Gosatomenergonadzora supervises nuclear safety, including personnel training and certification.

I believe that in the long term it will be expedient to use the experience of some countries. Over there, the supervising agency performs methodological and regulatory functions, and the operating enterprises bear the responsibility. The control agencies issue procedural and technical documentation, establish the methods for conducting operations, and grant permits to conduct such operations. Before they issue a permit they verify whether there are facilities, whether the personnel has been trained, and so forth. We have a sort of mixed control: our inspectors work directly at the installation. However, we cannot do without branch control either. The register does not determine the technical status of systems ensuring nuclear safety only. It looks at the ship in its entirety. We certify the nuclear unit. There is no avoiding duplication this way. It is another matter that coordination has to be precise.

[Uzelman] Have you had to make decisions on discontinuing the operation of nuclear vessels or ban their departure from ports?

[Nikolskiy] We have not thus far. Recently, the issue of the icebreaker "Arktika" came up. There, a short circuit at the main bearing of armatures of the electric engines which power propeller shafts occurred because of the penetration of moisture. A fire broke out. We requested that they return to base if there were any irregularities from the point of view of nuclear safety. They sent a message saying that the installation was turned down, all lines were checked out, and there were no violations.

[Uzelman] Your inspectors provide supervision only at the base in Murmansk. At sea the sailors are left to their own devices. Can they conceal an incident which has happened?

[Nikolskiy] This has not happened in my practice. In principle, they can conceal some trifle, but not a serious [incident]. Besides, it is not possible in a collective. The standard of operation among the sailors is high.

Of course, the issue of surprise inspections exists. The issue was raised of our inspectors accompanying ships. However, there is a purely psychological issue involved here: an extra control person cannot be given a full workload. However, we are going to practice inspections at sea. Even now we are doing inspections at the roadstead.

[Uzelman] We have been talking exclusively about nuclear icebreakers. However, there is also a base for servicing them, and there are technical service vessels at this base. Do they meet modern safety requirements?

[Nikolskiy] The nuclear lighter carrier "Sevmorput" has now been commissioned. The base has remained the same. To be sure, the ships come in for fuel transloading about once in 4 years. However, there has got to be an opportunity to put in at the pier in the event of, say, an emergency. On the whole, the building of nuclear ships is proceeding faster than the development of the base. This cannot be allowed to happen.

As far as the technical service craft are concerned, the floating technical base "Lepse" has served out its time, and has accumulated radioactive waste. The issue of burying it has arisen. We have now pushed through its removal from the waterways in order to avoid collisions with ships, but there was an offset on it. Yet, nothing bad

happened. A design for the burial is being developed, but it has not been resolved yet where and how this is to be done. The shipping line and the designers should hurry.

I would like to touch on one more problem associated with safety. At present, the Murmansk base of the nuclear fleet is guarded by VOKhR [Militarized Guards Service] riflemen. This, however, is not the right standard of protection. It is time to assign the base to be guarded by units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Uzelman] At present, the nuclear power industry is going through a crisis. It emerged because of the argument between the public and the nuclear experts. As a representative of an oversight agency, what way out of this situation do you see?

[Nikolskiy] There is one way out—complete openness and glasnost. The present crisis is due to the fact that the work was classified, and the public was not informed. Decisions were made in secret, and now we are suffering a loss. I am in favor of making access to nuclear installations, including nuclear ships, free. We are not ashamed of putting our nuclear fleet on display. We should explain and show more to our people, and measure the level of radioactivity at their request.

In Latvia, they have a research nuclear reactor. So, they frequently took schoolchildren and representatives of the public there. I believe that they have a different idea of the nuclear power industry than those who have never seen a nuclear reactor.

I visited a nuclear power station in France. It even had a reception and exhibition hall where a cross-section of the installation is shown. In principle any citizen can come in and look. There are commissions of non-specialists who regularly inspect the stations. We do not have to fear this either.

First of all, the nuclear power industry calls for a standard of safety, even on the part of specialists. The [past] times have conditioned many people as follows: whatever happens, the station has got to operate and generate energy. We have already had to combat this mentality. In the fleet, we will also have to overcome it. The incident on "Rossiya" should be a serious warning.

Concepts of Coexistence, World Revolution Weighed

PM2203112589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[Yuriy Zhukov article under the "Journalist's Notes" rubric: "Choice of Path"]

[Text] During meetings with foreign guests I have sometimes heard the following: How are we to understand you Soviets—you used to talk about world revolution and now you burble about the priority of general human interests over class interests. What is this? Are you abandoning your former ideals? Are you changing your political reference points? Or is this a temporary tactical maneuver?...

Of course, we cannot expect such interlocutors to have an in-depth knowledge of how our party's political strategy has taken shape through this century, of how the struggle between new and old has fared, and of how the prospects for social development have gradually been appearing with increasingly clarity in this country and in the world as a whole. Moreover the approaches and assessments of some of our interlocutors inevitably betray an inveterate mistrust of us.

These questions must be answered as soon as they are raised. It is also useful for us ourselves to penetrate somewhat more deeply into the essence of things and retrace how the idea of future radical changes in the economic and social structure of the world community gradually took shape.

Let us recall the hard and truly dramatic years at the dawn of the century when Lenin and a small group of comrades-in-arms laid the foundations for a party of the working class in preparation for decisive political battles.

The year was 1897. The czarist gendarmerie was rubbing its hands in malicious glee: The young—but, in their view, dangerous—revolutionary, Vladimir Ulyanov, had been seized in Petersburg and exiled to impossibly remote Siberia—to the village of Shushenskoye. People involved in the meeting held in March 1898 in a small house on the outskirts of Minsk that adopted the manifesto to set up the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party had been arrested. The publication of RABOCHAYA GAZETA, which was set up by Kiev's "Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class" and which participants in the first party congress had chosen as their press organ, was halted.

But it is impossible to fetter revolutionary thought. Lenin did a lot of strenuous work, weighing up the paths of the struggle to liberate the working class.

On one of those far-off days an important piece of news reached him by complex clandestine means: Attempts were being made far away to the West of the Urals to resume publication of RABOCHAYA GAZETA. Lenin was asked to take an active part in its work. He immediately used the same clandestine means to send a letter consenting to this proposal and at the same time enclosing three articles, entitled "Our Program," "Our Immediate Task," and "Vital Question." He made the following reservation: "The articles have, unfortunately, been written in some haste'..." Soon he sent off in their wake a detailed work entitled "Our Party's Draft Program."

Alas, it did not prove possible to resume publication of RABOCHAYA GAZETA and these most important articles written by Lenin were only published many years

later. But they retained their abiding significance: In reading them, we are stepping into Lenin's creative laboratory as he pondered the paths of revolution, peering decades into the future.

But here is what is particularly interesting. Even then the future founder of the Soviet state manifested a broad approach to the tasks of reorganizing society, stressing that it is a question of satisfying not only the proletariat's class interests but also general human interests, as he perceived their organic linkage.

In the article "Our Party's Draft Program" he wrote that the Russian autocracy should be overthrown **"not only in the interests of the working class but also in the interests of all societal development."** There then followed an explanation, which is particularly topical today.

"This recommendation," Lenin wrote, **"is necessary both in theoretical terms since from the viewpoint of the fundamental ideas of Marxism, the interests of socetial development stand above the interests of the proletariat—the interests of the entire worker movement as a whole stand above the interests of an individual stratum of workers or individual elements in the movement—it is also necessary in practical terms so as to characterize the central point to which all the diverse social democratic activity of propaganda, agitation, and organization should gravitate and round which it should group."**

Addressing from Sushenskoye his kindred spirits, Lenin urged them to raise aloft the **"common democratic banner,"** grouping around them **"all strata and elements capable of fighting for political freedom or even just supporting this struggle in any way whatsoever."**

Many years later, in September 1988, during a visit to Shushenskoye, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, when recalling those words by the founder of our party and state, was to say with emotion the following : "Once again you can see for yourselves the wealth of Lenin's legacy. In fact, in coming to the historical fore, the proletariat expressed not only its own interests but also the overall thrust of the historical process and especially the progressive characteristics of that process. In this respect too this class' interests coincide with the interests of working people and broadly speaking with all the progressive interests of a particular society."

While striving for the overthrow of the autocracy, Lenin and his comrades-in-arms were profoundly convinced that sooner or later socialism would replace capitalism just as capitalism had replaced feudalism before, and feudalism had replaced slave-owning society before that. But how would this process occur? Who would begin it and who would complete it?

In the late 1880's Engels made the following assumption: "The French will begin it and the Germans will end it." Then when the revolutionary crisis came to a head in Russia, the hope arose that: Perhaps the "Russians will begin it" and Western Europe "will carry it through"? Whatever concrete political situation emerged, the idea was increasingly voiced that a revolution in a single country would only be of significance as a detonator for a worldwide explosion.

During the period of constant revolutionary storms following October 1917, many people believed that world revolution was close at hand, especially as disturbances and even uprisings were flaring up in Europe one after another—the consequences of the protracted and bloody world war were taking their toll.

Many people thought at the time that in a very short while capitalism would be done away with once and for all. But although Lenin dreamed like everyone else of the October Revolution being the start of a world revolution, he took a sober view of reality and would not allow the revolutionary flare-ups rocking first Austria, then Hungary, and Germany to be overestimated.

Let us recall that Lenin carried on polemics at the stormy Seventh Extraordinary Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress in March 1918 with the "left Communists," who were gambling on rapid world or "all-Russian" revolution and who therefore opposed concluding a peace with the Kaiser's Germany.

"Yes, there is a socialist revolution lurking behind every strike. But if you say that every given strike is a direct step toward a socialist revolution, you will be uttering a totally vacuous phrase.... The claim that it is possible to move on to revolution from every strike is nonsense...."

Almost 10 years later N.I. Bukharin, who had argued with Lenin in 1918 and opposed the Brest peace, acknowledged in his report at the Seventh Moscow Provincial Trade Union Congress how wise had been the stance of Vladimir Ilich who had warned that the process of replacing socioeconomic formations in the world initiated with the socialist revolution in Russia would be by no means as simple and—this is the main thing—by no means as rapid as the "left Communists" imagined. Bukharin recalled the following in this connection:

"During the war (World War I) Comrade Lenin affirmed the following before we embarked on the active revolutionary process in February 1917. We all have to realize that an international revolution that overthrows capitalism is above all a lengthy historical process which will take shape from a whole series of proletarian revolutions, colonial uprisings, and national wars."

Life has fully confirmed this forecast of Lenin's. After the victory of the October Revolution the further process of radical changes in the world within various countries and on various continents in different ways proved even more lengthy and complex than many revolutionaries imagined.

A new phase of historical development began when, according to Lenin, peaceful cohabitation [sozhitelstvo] between states belonging to different social systems became the only sensible solution to ensure the survival of the unusually varied and disparate 20th century world. For the sake of objectivity one must admit that it was not only people in the Kremlin but also people in the capitals of the hostile Entente countries who realized this in 1922.

Let me remind you that a telegram was received in Moscow 13 January 1922 from Italian Prime Minister I. Bonomi. On behalf of the Entente's Supreme Council—the Entente comprised the Western capitalist states who fought against Germany and its allies—he invited a Soviet government delegation to take part in an international economic and financial conference which was being convened in Genoa. The telegram also carried the text of a resolution adopted by the Entente council on the main conditions necessary, in its opinion, for the conference to succeed.

Lenin was profoundly interested by the first point of these conditions, which said: **"Nations cannot dictate to other nations the principles on the basis of which they are to organize their system of ownership, economic life, and method of government; every country has the right to choose for itself the system it prefers."**

Thus, this was an important, albeit indirect acknowledgment by the Entente of the inevitability of the existence of a socialist system alongside the capitalist system and hence the "inevitability of agreement" between the two systems "as like with like," Vladimir Ilich stressed.

What prompted this important acknowledgment? Speaking at the Ninth All-Russian Congress of the Soviets on 23 December 1921, Lenin said that "there is a greater force than the wishes, will, and decisions of any hostile governments or classes, this force takes the form of common economic world relations which compel them to set about this way of dealing with us ."

Decades have passed. The world has changed beyond recognition. The further we go, the more obvious it becomes that mankind has no other way than peaceful coexistence. How can one fail to recall over and over the thesis which Lenin, the 29-year old Russian revolutionary, formulated so wisely in his forced seclusion in Shushenskoye on the threshold of our century—the thesis of the priority of the interests of societal development over class interests?

We still need to analyze and ponder a great deal, assessing the prospects for international relations in the light of the new thinking. But it is already quite clear that cohabitation between the two systems is not a mere breathing space, as many people thought in the twenties, and not a special form of class struggle, as we believed not so long ago, but a form of mutually beneficial interstate cooperation given, of course, the existence of ideological differences and class contradictions.

On the other hand cooperation by no means implies that one system should be equated with and attuned to another or, for instance, that there should be any convergence. Only a world in which all peoples and states retain their own freedom of social and political choice can be stable and this rules out the export of both revolution and counterrevolution.

However contradictory contemporary civilization may be and however different the various political and social systems coexisting within it may be, nevertheless it is our common civilization. The most important task for all states, peoples, parties, and movements is to prevent a ruinous confrontation between them and, moreover, ensure that each people is able to decide its own destiny without hindrance, thus promoting the further development of all mankind.

Journalists' Access to Restricted Areas Approved

LD2203113989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Provisions setting out the procedure whereby journalists are given access to areas of activity have been approved by the USSR Ministry of Defense and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, in order to create the optimal atmosphere for journalists who cover the activities of the internal affairs bodies. Is accreditation of this kind necessary? Does it not breach the universally accepted democratic norms of journalists' work?

It is this question that our correspondent put to Colonel Boris Pavolivich Mikhaylov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Press Bureau.

[Begin recording] [Mikhaylov] Well, of course it is not like this at all. The provisions, in their entirety, extend to what is known as restricted areas; these are set up in areas where measures are in hand to safeguard public order, in connection, let us say, with natural disasters, production accidents, quarantine measures, and at meetings, demonstrations, marches, gatherings, or other mass concentrations of citizens.

The provisions provide for correspondents who have certain types of press cards to be within a restricted area. It is planned to introduce two types of these cards: personal cards, and to the bearer. All thses cards will be issued by those in charge of editorial offices and of (?leading) mass information media. We intend to make the necessary quantity of these cards available to editorial offices, as many will be requested.

Why has this been done? Officials, in particular the militia operatives and its functionaries, should create conditions for journalists to work in a restricted area. In

the first place they should supply them with the necessary initial data and, if necessary, they should give them an opportunity to use communications, and they should give the necessary explanations.

[Unidentified correspondent] And also make transport available for urgent reports to reach the editorial offices?

[Mikhaylov] Absolutely correct. The press card—incidentally, we know that such press cards are used in the West—well, when we reacted to the initiative of the Board of the Union of Journalists, we had this in mind, above all.

Views can now be heard that it represents a breach of journalists' rights; that it is a blow struck against glasnost. This is absolutely not the case, all the more so because some people were precipitous in their appraisals of this innovation. For the time being we have jointly worked out the provisions. They have not been introduced and will not be introduced until they have been carefully checked in order to ensure that they are in keeping with all existing regulations and practice, and also in keeping with what mass information media chiefs want.

Incidentally, things must be done in accordance with the Vienna accords. After all, a large group of foreign journalists is here. We are accused of wanting to subordinate things to regulations. Yes, there are regulations, but their aim is to make for better work, not to create impediments of one kind or another.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs has now begun to meet the corps of journalist halfway. Take our contacts: up to between 2,000 and 2,500 journalists familiarize themselves with our services in the space of half a year, meeting not only those who are in charge, but also with the professionals, those who execute things, receiving their information directly from the horse's mouth.

[Correspondent] A mere 3 years ago, you could only dream about this.

[Mikhaylov] Yes, dream. Well, if the decision to introduce the provision is indeed made, let us introduce them and have a look; if they are to the liking of journalists and to those who are in charge of mass information media, we will leave them. If this or that needs to be altered—practice is the best criterion—we shall jointly appraise the practice, we shall think everything through, we shall remove all incidental questions, and we shall act in such a way that, first and foremost, there is benefit to the journalist, to law and order, to the socialist rule of law, and, naturally, to glasnost.

Removal of 'Traitor' Label From Emigres Urged

PM1603152389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Reader's letter under the rubric "Letters '...Not for Publication": "Now I Shall Vote Against"]

[Text] I have been a Communist for 50 years. During these years I have seen, with the party, many fine events, and many which today would be assessed negatively.

During those 50 years I also had to vote for the expulsion of my comrades from the CPSU. The reasons were diverse. Including this one: A Communist's taking up permanent residence abroad. During those years anyone who decided to take this step had to hand in an application to be expelled from the CPSU. But the party meeting in such cases gave, in my view, an awful justification for making the decision: It was said that such a person must be expelled from the party for betraying his country. I must admit that I personally voted several times, and held up "traitors" to shame. There was a time when many upright and principled people could not live in the stuffy atmosphere of lies and stagnation, and left the country. So, what kind of traitors to their country are they? It is a good thing that the party has given a correct assessment to this. It means that the time has come to abolish this humiliating and insulting formula, to determine precisely who really was a traitor to the country and who had this terrible label hung on them by unanimous vote. I am convinced that then many Soviet people will want to come back home.
[Signed] M. Gorokhovskiy. Minsk.

* Cooperation on 'Urgent' Ecological Measures Urged

18300449b Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK in Russian No 5, Mar 89 p 9

[Article by A. Tsygankov, deputy chief of the Division for Territorial Development of the National Economy and Capital Construction of the Administration of Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, candidate of chemical sciences: "The Ecology. Immediate Measures are Needed"]

[Text] If one were to try to determine a list of cities and regions of the country where immediate measures are needed for normalization of the ecological situation, alas, it would be fairly long. This is the path that was taken at first by the developers of the draft of the government decree, earmarking operational measures for reducing harmful discharges into the environment and sharply reducing their impact on people's health.

The work on the draft began at the end of 1987. Participating in it were the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Goskomgidromet [State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control] and the USSR Ministry of Health, the USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social

Relations], the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and the USSR Gosgortekhnadzor [State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision]. It was decided to create a kind of map of the ecological "sore spots" and draw up a list of cities in which the most immediate measures were needed, concentrating the necessary forces and funds on this.

As a result they received a list of 28 cities which was sent out for the consideration of the councils of ministers of the union republics. But they did not think that this list reflected the real situation on their territories and demanded that it be expanded. As a result, the list was increased to 50: 20 cities of the RSFSR (Nizhniy Tail, Cherepovets, Kemerovo, Astrakhan, Berezniki, and others), 8 in the Ukrainian SSR (Mariupol, Zaporozhye, Dneprodzerzhinsk, Lisichansk, and others), 5 each in the Kazakh SSR and the Uzbek SSR, 3 each in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Belorussian SSR, 2 in the Armenia SSR, and one each in the Georgian SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Moldavian SSR, and Estonian SSR. The overall population of these cities exceeded 22 million. It was assumed that these would be the places where they would manage to send the necessary funds during the remaining 2 years of the five-year plan, and under the next five-year plan they would begin on the others.

But the actual situation dictated its own conditions. There was an increased influx of letters to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers from workers of various other cities not included on the list, in which they demanded that measures be taken to improve their environment. But an analysis of the course of their fulfillment makes it possible to assert that there is only one solution here—it is necessary to switch from solving partial, local problems to developing general tactical and partially strategic problems related to the policy for the protection of nature. On the whole the strategic directions for the protection of nature up to the year 2005 will be determined in the long-term state program whose draft has already been developed, and should be submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers in the near future.

It was presumed that for each city they would manage to select the most ecologically dangerous production facilities in order to adopt concrete measures. But is it right for the center to give instructions about in which city, in which enterprise, in which shop, and when it is necessary to install, for example, the most ordinary filter? Now during the course of restructuring it is necessary to refrain from such assignments, which were previously acceptable and ordinary. According to the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), it is the enterprises that are fully responsible for violation of environmental protection requirements, and in their activity they are under the supervision of the local soviet of people's deputies. The corresponding article of this law is slowly but surely being recognized by the leaders of enterprises and ispolkoms [executive committees].

For example, the city of Kremenchug has developed a program of concrete measures for the plants located here whose discharges cause the most harm. Then, in keeping with an agreement with the ministries, they established this in the Poltava oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee]. Here they revealed questions which go beyond the framework of the program which on instructions from the USSR Council of Ministers were resolved by the USSR Gosplan. Approximately the same path can probably be recommended for any city. We must not wait for a decision "from above" but should find it locally, on the basis of their capabilities, and they should determine with the greatest clarity the measures that will produce a real advantage both for the people and for nature.

In 1988 variants of the draft of the decree were considered twice at meetings of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, but they were not adopted since they did not resolve the task at hand. Now the draft of the document concerning immediate measures for normalization of the sanitary and ecological situation in a number of regions of the country is undergoing final reworking. This is being done by a large group of specialists of the USSR Goskompriroda [State Environmental Committee], the USSR Gosplan, various ministries and departments and leading scientists. It is presumed that the final variant of the draft will be submitted to the government this month.

But the people are expecting not only good decisions but above all concrete actions. And here we are even more in debt to the people. In spite of the wide-reaching and developed legislation for the protection of nature, many ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations for many years have not exerted the proper effort for the fulfillment of the state plan in this area. Last year the 2.8 billion rubles in capital investments allotted by the state were assimilated by only 85 percent. Not a single one of the ministries included in the fuel-energy, chemical-timber, or metallurgical complexes fulfilled the assignment for putting facilities for the protection of nature into operation.

As a result, in almost 70 cities of the country the air pollution constantly exceeds the sanitary-hygienic normatives, which leads to increased illness of the population. They are not halting the discharge of unpurified waste waters into the bodies of water from many rivers, including the basins of the Volga and Dnepr rivers, and the Baltic, Black, Caspian, and Azov seas. Yet the decisions adopted as early as the seventies indicated that barriers would appear on the path of this turbid stream as early as 1985. Nature cannot cope with the growing quantity of chemical substances coming through the water and the air, and is beginning to be intensively disturbed before the eyes of a single generation.

Government decisions alone are not enough to stop this process. Here each of us must take an active position and do daily painstaking work for ecological purity in all sections of production.

*** Tuberculosis Major Problem in Rural Kazakhstan**
18300459 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Prof K. Makseyev, head of the Phthisiopulmonology Department, Alma-Ata Medical Institute: "The Specialist's Responsibility"]
[Text] Tuberculosis remains one of the most severe and troubling social-medical problems of our republic: morbidity is almost double the average all-union indicators, and is also growing in recent years. The proportion of neglected forms is high (up to 45 percent). This disease infects people of rural localities far more frequently than in the cities. Therefore, it is to be desired that the issue be given serious attention at the upcoming session of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

The tense epidemiological situation demands that constant attention be paid to phthisis in the system of medical education. Students study modern diagnostic, treatment and prophylactic methods under specific conditions in the republic. Our department accentuates the future doctors' independent work, to which are dedicated one-third of their training hours.

Serious problems have arisen in the preparation of personnel, demanding immediate resolution. Recently, a new medical training program was established by the USSR Ministry of Health. Starting September of this year, instruction on phthisis is provided only in the fourth year, and partially in the third year of training in the treatment department. Only 15 days are allotted for this—and approximately the same amount of time for this in the pediatrics department. Thus, starting with the next academic year, the students' study of of tuberculosis in post-training courses will be curtailed.

Obviously, this program was adopted with an orientation toward the relatively favorable conditions, in the epidemiological sense, in the country as a whole, first and foremost in the Baltic republics, the Ukraine, Belorussia and other regions. However, a reduction in the phthisis program is completely unacceptable for us.

The territorial disconnection of the institutions of public health and the low population density in the expansive territories of Kazakhstan dictate the need for broader participation in rural anti-tubercular measures by workers of the general medical network, mainly by therapists and pediatricians of the rayon sector hospital, outpatient clinics, and representatives of public health stations. Without a doubt, they must all have basic preparation in phthisis. Therefore, for medical institutions in Kazakhstan, the academic program in effect until 1988 must be left in force, in which phthisis was covered in the fourth and sixth year of the treatment department and in the fifth and sixth year of the pediatrics department, for an average training period of about a month, although even this is sparse.

Annually, over 50 medical school graduates out of the number of therapists and pediatricians who are sent out into the republic's phthisical network are without appropriate training in phthisis. It would be completely economical, justifiable and professional if they were to go through, as a post-training course, a pre-diploma primary specialization internship in tuberculosis over three or four months' time.

In the period of restructuring, as the rights and independence of the organs of public health have been broadly expanded, the problem may be solved in the republic if persistence is shown, and "directives" are not waited for.

Every year in Kazakhstan, about 50 doctors enter internship; eight enter clinical residency, and one or two go on for advanced training. Of course, this does not nearly satisfy the real demands of the phthisical service.

Much remains to be done in the area of training doctors after their initial medical training. Approximately 1,500 phthisical specialists work in the anti-tubercular institutions of Kazakhstan. Of those, about 500 go through completion of specialization annually, but in fact, less than half of these go through training. On the other hand, phthisical specialists with insufficient training transfer into the general treatment network. Without a doubt, that sort of personnel migration negatively affects the work of all the public health services, not to mention the significant losses in the training of specialists.

And it turns out that phthisical specialists raise their qualifications through courses only once every eight years, on the average, as opposed to once every five years, as regulated by official decree.

An aging of the phthisical personnel has been noticed in the republic in recent years. There is no marked dynamic of renewal by young specialists whose energy and enthusiasm, in conjunction with the experience of the older generation, are so needed in the effective implementation of anti-tubercular prophylactic measures.

It is entirely possible to rectify the situation. The local public health organs should carefully determine the demands upon their phthisical specialists, and systematically study the level of their training and other indicators. This will allow for the compilation of current and long-term plans for medical staff renewal and raising of qualifications, as well as their correct selection and timely dispatch to the appropriate cycles.

In addition, we consider it advisable to increase by 50 percent the training capacity of the Alma-Ata Institute of Advanced Medical Training. If this is impossible, then advanced courses should be organized within the tuberculosis department of the Alma-Ata and Karaganda medical institutes.

There are other tried and true means of raising the phthisical specialists' qualifications: training periods at the workplace, seminars, and symposia. The latter should be held not in Alma-Ata, but more frequently in the individual zones of Kazakhstan most affected by tuberculosis.

In the area of phthisis, as in any other field of medicine, the volume of scientific information is growing explosively. A great quantity of work is published annually, frequently with contradicting opinions, and it is difficult at times for the practitioner to sort this out. Thus, we think that it is very important to publish in ZDRAVOOKHRANENIYE KAZAKHSTANA the thematic lectures and review articles on the topical issues of modern phthisio-pulmonology.

The efficacy of anti-tubercular work depends not only upon the doctors' qualifications, but on the level of rational implementation of the selection and dispersal of the personnel with leadership responsibilities. The tuberculosis clinics, major hospitals and sanitoria must be headed by highly competent specialists. This requires the broad application of a system of competition, with preliminary discussion of each candidate with the phthisical and medical-scientific societies and the organizations' collectives. Equally important is the subsequent exacting certification of phthisical specialists, chiefs of medical staffs of clinics, central rayon hospitals, local hospitals, and public health stations in the issues of phthisis, so that the certification committees—above all the chairmen—bear personal responsibility for the quality of each certified doctor.

The material base of the phthisis service is the weak link. Even in Alma-Ata, city and rayon tuberculosis clinics, and the city tuberculosis hospital, are located in decrepit buildings which do not meet sanitation demands.

This article has only touched upon a few aspects of the struggle against tuberculosis. It is clear that this task cannot be delayed, and demands the unification of efforts of the local soviets and their public health organs, higher schools and the public.

Official Interviewed on Safety of Militia Workers

PM2203152789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Interview by Colonel R. Makushin, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, with Major General of Militia N.S. Myrikov, deputy chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration, under the rubric "Interview After the Event": "The Echo of Shots in the Streets"—date and place unspecified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Major General of Militia Nikolay Stepanovich Myrikov, deputy chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration, answers the questions of our correspondent.

Correspondent. Nikolay Stepanovich, on 16 March KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carried a small article which mentioned, in particular, A. Pikovskiy, superintendent of criminal investigations in Moscow's 33d militia department. When apprehending an armed criminal, he was forced to use a weapon himself, as a result of which the criminal was killed. We also reported that criminal charges have been instituted against A. Pikovskiy. The day the article was published, the editorial office received a lot of telephone calls. Our readers expressed bewilderment and even outrage at this turn of events. For example, Muscovite Petr Stepanovich Lipilin frankly said: "People like this should not be put on trial but rewarded."

Could you comment on this situation?

N. Myrikov. The fact that criminal charges have been brought does not necessarily mean that the member of the militia who used a weapon will receive a criminal sentence. A criminal case has been opened as a matter of course. It is simply that this is required under our laws in a situation like this. So you can reassure KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers.

Correspondent. Now about the shooting itself. Where and how is it laid down under what circumstances the militia can and must use weapons?

N. Myrikov. The rules for the use of weapons are defined by a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 1973, which ratified the Provision on the Soviet Militia. Some of the sections in the decree have been incorporated into the regulations for patrol and point duty. This defines the procedure for the use of weapons.

Correspondent. And we can say that A. Pikovskiy did not violate these regulations?

N. Myrikov. That is correct, he did not. He was doing his duty. And the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration intends to recommend him for a reward.

Correspondent. The regulations are well known to the militia but I believe that most citizens only have a vague idea of what they are and, in particular, of the circumstances in which the militia may use weapons. If the criminals themselves knew this, they would probably think twice before attacking a member of the militia.

N. Myrikov. Perhaps you are right. The fact of the matter is that, unfortunately, most of our citizens are ill-equipped when it comes to knowledge of the law. There is a great deal of work to be done in this respect. Not only by the militia, of course. And the provisions of the regulations themselves need to be revised. Take the following example. A member of the militia comes up against the kind of circumstances where he is forced to use a weapon without delay. Under the regulations, he must first give a verbal warning, then follow this with

some warning shots, and only then use the weapon against the criminal. Sometimes, situations like these end tragically for the militia worker.

Correspondent. But how, nevertheless, can we enlighten citizens as to when the militia may use weapons?

N. Myrikov. As is well known, a draft law is currently being worked on, which will clearly set out the militia's tasks and rights. I believe we will find an answer to this question in the new law.

Correspondent. Of course, such a law is needed. The people who telephoned the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office also asked how long the militia, which is expected to protect citizens' rights, will itself remain unprotected. Incidentally, I can see a certain change—for the better—in the attitude to our militia in this reaction, for example. Or am I wrong?

N. Myrikov. I would not venture to claim that there has been a radical breakthrough in the attitude to the militia. Even now, we have a fair number of cases where our personnel behave badly. We have told journalists that the Moscow militia has been thoroughly purged. Hundreds of new people recommended by CPSU raykoms and the Komsomol have joined us, in place of the unworthy personnel dismissed from our bodies. They are people who well understand the importance of the work with which they are entrusted and the overwhelming majority of them have done service in the Soviet Army, which means a great deal. This has, of course, had an impact on the qualitative makeup of the Moscow militia and its work. But, I repeat, we still have a very long way to go before we achieve an ideal situation. We have to work, we have to teach and educate people.

Correspondent. Let us go back to the question of the militia's protection. Some police officers from the United States were recently guests of the internal affairs main administration. One of them, giving an interview to journalists, expressed surprise at how our citizens in the streets of Moscow—naturally interested in the transatlantic guests—even tried to touch them and feel their equipment. It seems that, in the United States, just this simple contact with a police officer may serve as grounds for arrest. What is your opinion of this?

N. Myrikov. I wholeheartedly approve of this situation and feel it is the only possible option. Think of the most recent unsanctioned rally by the so-called Democratic Union in Mayakovskiy Square. When the militia began to push aside rally participants from the thoroughfare, some of them put up physical resistance, which almost developed into a brawl. To say nothing of the language used to address the militia. The Americans, on the other hand, even stipulate how close people may come to a police officer who is carrying out his official duties. This is quite correct.

Correspondent. From what you have said, we may conclude that the militia still has no legal protection in our country.

N. Myrikov. That is quite true. I believe that it is simply essential to draw up a series of normative acts which will guarantee the safety of militia workers in the course of fulfilling their duty. That is how it is. The militia guards the law. But the law must also protect the militia.

Economic

* Eased Control Over Cooperative System Urged

18270072 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 12 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by A. Kizilevich, docent at the Gomel Cooperative Institute, candidate of economic sciences, Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic: "On the Eve of the 12th USSR Congress of Consumer Cooperatives. What We Have To Reject"]

[Text] A characteristic feature of our consumer cooperative system, unfortunately, is that the means of production are owned and controlled not by those who are formally listed as the owners (that is, the shareholders), but by the cooperative apparatus—from the raypotrebsoyuz [rayon consumer's union] to the tsentrsoyuz [central union] inclusively. And the main task today, in my view, is to break up the cooperative system as a sphere of habitation by highly organized officialdom and to recreate it as a system which functions in the interests of the people. There certainly should be a discussion at the 12th Congress of the Consumer Cooperative System about how to do this.

The task is not an easy one. Those forces in the cooperative system that want restructuring, and those that are against it, are organized in different ways. The authority, the personnel, and the means of mass information are in the hands of the latter. The movement opposing them is disunited, and its voice penetrates the pages of the press with difficulty. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that the final word at the congress will fall to the bureaucrats. And, as previously, they will lead by basing themselves on axioms that have become dogmas that do not allow any kind of analysis.

I will cite just one example of this style of system management. Everyone knows the axiom: "Socialism is accounting and control." But here is the difficulty: Total losses to embezzlement and misappropriation in 1987 in the cooperative system amounted to about R43 million. Their number is growing... simultaneously with the growth in the army of controllers and accountants. So then, will we continue to hold to the "inoperative" axiom, or will we nonetheless think about how to resolve the contradiction between the growth in the number of inspectors and the scale of theft?

I would not like to appear to be a pessimist who does not believe in the possibility of changes. I actually do believe in them. Even if for no other reason than that there are people whose psychology is not distorted and who think independently. There are such people, and they will be at the congress. Calculating on them, I propose my own system of restoring the consumer cooperative system.

I am convinced that the first and most important thing that has to be achieved is to recognize that the productive forces are not compatible with the production relationships in the cooperative sector of the national economy of the USSR. The means of production and labor results, I repeat, are not owned and actually controlled by shareholders but by a "clique" apparatus. It has managed itself, in addition, to the point that the material and moral wear and tear of production capital has reached a critical mark. This together with the theory about the lack of prospects for the cooperative movement drove away qualified workers from consumer cooperative enterprises located in cities, and it also very greatly decreased the ranks of rural workers.

It turned out that the poorest personnel remaining in the consumer cooperative system in conjunction with routine equipment and technology gave rise to deformed economic relationships: dependence on others, complacency, servility, protectionism, theft, bribery, and other phenomena of this kind that took on a life of their own. Numerous other examples could still be cited here, but they are well known anyway.

It should also be noted that economic relations in the consumer cooperative system are a product of economic relations that set in under conditions of the state monopolistic economy of the entire country. And because no particular changes (as yet, in any case), have not occurred here, I believe it necessary that the proclaimed recognition of cooperative property as equal to that of state property has not yet given anything to our movement. The ministries and the ispolkoms [executive committees], seeing that authority is slipping from their hands, have pounced on the cooperatives and are trying to discredit them. This is evident in the unconstitutional, in my view, resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers of 29 December 1988 and the rejection by the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the edict on taxes, etc., in May of last year.

Serious legislative decisions are needed that do not have the repair of a rundown edifice as their purpose, but its radical restructuring. Among these, for example, is granting rights equal to that of state enterprises to acquire any (any!) means of production, raw materials, and the goods necessary to ensure economic activity.

By the way, there is nothing here that is either extreme or new. We will recall that in the twenties the consumer cooperative system had the right to the immediate acquisition of commodities, a low turnover tax, a low rate for the use of credit, and a reduced railroad tariff. Should it be surprising that cooperative trade in 1931 accounted for 73.3 percent of the country's goods turnover?

Cooperative property will take on its primary quality only when it will be successfully taken out of the hands of the bureaucrats. The most reliable way is to lease the means of production. Leaseholders are the genuine grave-diggers of an inflated command apparatus.

Rural and urban stores, food catering enterprises, produce and processing centers, and small and large enterprises—all of this should be transferred to those who will undertake work on a full cost accounting basis. I think that they should be given the right to family membership in a cooperative or a consumer association and be granted the opportunity to buy out the means of production for use as property of the family of the cooperator. But there should be a stipulation here: Only the real owners, i.e., shareholders, can lease the means of production .

Something also must be said about the need for restructuring of the organizational structure of the consumer cooperative system. As long as there are enterprise-executives, there will also be an apparatus that has the right to command. There is only one way out of this closed circle: All enterprises that are part of the same consumer union must be reorganized into cooperatives of various levels. Then the practice of distributing resources in a command way will stop by itself. They will reach the consumers on the basis of agreements through a system of wholesale or market supply cooperatives through a cooperative bank. And to the extent that there is a stock or commodity exchange, they will replace the apparatus workers through these institutions.

Proceeding from this, I propose that Potrebsoyuz's [Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives] at all levels be reorganized into cooperative associations to service consumer societies and cooperatives, keeping firmly in mind that you pay for what you get. Then money will be given to an association only for services: defense of the rights of consumers and their societies, the development of research programs, and the proposal of initiatives on principal questions of the cooperative movement. For example, there is an extreme need for a constructive scientific theory that crystallizes the practice of cooperative management and that points out the most effective way for the future development of the cooperative system. There will also be a need for work on the organization of foreign economic ties, publishing activity, and the like. In a word, the range of concerns in the association will be broad and the benefit will be considerable.

I believe also that it is necessary to transform the consumer societies into an association of cooperatives and to cover the land with a network of wholesale supply, processing, and other cooperatives. I also see plant cooperatives, factory cooperatives, motor transport, construction, and building and assembly cooperatives.

Aside from purely economic matters, this will help resolve the problem of the democratization of the cooperative superstructure. It will be much more difficult to develop cooperative managers from workers who did not cope with their former duties, which is frequently being done now. It will not be that simple to force a collegial organ to vote for decisions issued from the top, etc. Independence in economic matters engenders political independence, inasmuch as economics and politics are two sides of the same coin.

Concerning the immediate tasks of the forthcoming congress, it seems reasonable to elect an observation council [nablyudatelnyy sovet] from among its delegates. It could monitor the execution of decisions of the congress and also evaluate the quality and legality of the decisions adopted by the executive organ, which today, in essence, is not controlled.

Of course, there are many ways to enliven the consumer cooperative system, and I do not make a claim to absolute truth. But one thing is clear: Having taken the road to reorganization, there is a lot that has to be rejected and a lot that has to be redone.

* Problems of Tengiz Oil Field Development Cited

18220060 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by F. Novikov, chairman of the ispolkom of the Guryev Oblast soviet of people's deputies, Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic: "The Dictatorship of the Center and the Powerlessness of the Soviet"]

[Text] *I am in Moscow again. As always, I am going through the various offices and ministries. I am not simply going through them but, as they say, I have my hand out—I am asking for something; I am trying to get it; I am wringing it out. I am not asking for myself but for the entire oblast, but if I manage to get ahold of something, my joy is boundless. But more frequently it is the other way around—from door to door.*

I have to go most of all to the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry. And here I am the least frequently understood. I raise questions or, rather, my entire oblast raises them, extremely important ones, but they wave me away: They say that from the capital it is possible to see more clearly what you should do in the local areas. And they do what they want to without even asking for advice.

The Kazakh Caspian area is experiencing a second birth today. Its industrial potential is being raised to a qualitatively new level by the construction of the petrochemical complex based on the new deposits at our Tengiz. Last year alone a half billion rubles in capital investments were directed here. But the immense investments do little to change the social image of the "camel corner," as it is called in the region. As usual, the ministries and departments are concerned basically only with pumping as much natural wealth from the earth as they can. And they think very little about people.

Take Guryev. How many times has fate in the form of our bureaucratic peremptoriness turned its back on this area. Industries of the oil-rich Emba region have grown up all around but the city has become overgrown through neglect. Millions of jars of black caviar and thousands of quintals of other delicacies (foreign currency for the state!) have come from the conveyers of its fish combine, but the workers of the powerful Kaspryba have huddled together in barracks for decades. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry which built a chemical plant in the city did not have enough forces or funds even for a nice club. All the city's construction industry, weak as it was, was oriented only toward facilities for industrial purposes. As a result, to this day in the oblast center cottages badly in need of paint sink down in the meadows and people wait for years for good housing. The situation is no better in the rayon centers or the villages. The material base for public health and education is in pathetic condition.

They can say to me: Now you have complained but have you yourself done anything to get rid of such a burdensome remnant of the past, to get rid of the shortcomings? I answer just as I began: I walk, I ask, I call out. The shortcomings about which I am speaking have accumulated over the decades and they are nothing other than the direct result of the dictatorship of her majesty the administrative system. The political reform is just beginning in our country and it is as though the local authorities are just learning how to wield power and keep the reins of the economy in their hands. We have thought, for example, about regional economic accountability, in other words management on the territory of the entire oblast in the form of a unified economic complex. But how can one seriously speak about such a model of management if, as before, the "higher ups" essentially do not take the oblast soviet of people's deputies into account when determining both strategic and particular issues in the development of the oblast? Our budget, not to mention the fact that it is determined as before from the center, remains one of the puniest as compared to other economically developed oblasts. With such a waning budget, the city cannot decide for itself whether or not to construct a drainage system, nor can the village decide whether or not to construct a hospital. The local soviets cannot even determine the salaries of their own workers.

Incidentally, we are taking certain measures to restore social justice. Thus the Inderskiy rayon soviet of people's deputies beginning on 1 January for ecological reasons halted the extraction of table salt by enterprises of Gosagroprom [State Agro-industrial Committee] in the unique Inder Lake. Earlier it took the dispensary away from the borate mine of the Ministry of Mineral Fertilizers and turned it into a maternity home. They did the same thing with the dispensary of Embaneft in Dossor,

placing a tuberculosis hospital in it. But do the departments always give in without a fight? All the session of the Shevchenko city council had to do was make a decision to make a children's polyclinic out of a building that previously housed administrative agencies of the former Manglishlak Oblast for the USSR Procurator's Office to react immediately: "Do not touch it!"

Workers of the oblast wherever you meet them ask: How does the assimilation of the Tengiz petroleum deposit, the largest in the country, affect the improvement of the life of the local population? And how do they answer? Everything depends on what the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry decides. The ministry's monopolistic ownership of all the funds allotted by the state for the assimilation of Tengiz and its priority right to solve almost all the problems of the social infrastructure and the ecology practically nullifies the efforts of the local authorities to oppose its narrow departmental interests and sometimes even blatant technocratic vandalism.

From the very beginning of the assimilation of the deposit a number of officials of the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry took a rigid, dictatorial position with respect to the local authorities in matters of distribution of labor resources and the implementation of necessary measures for the protection of nature. The mighty "uncle from the center" irritatedly waved aside even minor remarks we tried to make in the technical and economic substantiation of the future projects. Their snobbism was manifested first in the wild ideas to construct almost on the territory of the deposit itself a network of mining villages for the service personnel—with populations of up to 50,000—and by such a method so customary for the ministry, to solve the entire problem of the social infrastructure. Conceiving such reservations and again relying on the notorious watch method which has already cost the state a pretty penny, the departmental strategists completely forgot about the people who would be assimilating and working the deposit, they forgot about their life and leisure.

The Ministry of the Petroleum Industry has stubbornly refused to recognize our demand to appoint Guryev as the base city for the development of the future complex, although arguments in favor of this decision were fairly substantial. We proceeded from the idea that Tengiz is not eternal, in spite of its enormous supplies of hydrocarbons. Moreover, other no less promising deposits have already been discovered in the Caspian area. So are we going to "plant" a new city for each of them? All of them will end up in a circle whose center will be Guryev.

Guryev is still an inhabited city and is located in a zone that is fairly tolerable for the life of people—at least it is located near the good old Ural River and is not surrounded by an arid steppe. But it seems to the ministry that it would be more advantageous to construct new population points on barren ground than to invest in building up old ones and, in conjunction with our republic's Gosstroy [State Committee for Construction], it is making a decision to erect the base city in Kulsary.

Initially there were plans to extract 6-9 million tonnes of petroleum a year from the Tengiz area. With such a volume of its extraction and processing the ecological balance in the region would be disturbed. And the base city in Kulsary would not reach the critical size. But suddenly new geological data were obtained concerning the real capacity of the Tengiz fields, on the basis of which a decision is being made to increase the extraction of petroleum by a factor of more than 5 in the future. Yet the plans for the assimilation of the deposit are essentially the same as they were: They mechanically add the number of wells, points for collection and preparation of oil, comprehensive technological lines for refining it, and...residential areas in Kulsary.

After a protocol was signed in Moscow concerning intentions to create the petrochemical complex Tengizpolimer in conjunction with foreign firms there arose the question of the selection of a location for the future industrial giant, and the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry again fully ignored the opinion of the oblast management agencies and rejected the alternative suggestions of our city construction council. The petroleum workers proceeded only from the bare economic expediency and insisted on placing the industrial site as close as possible to the deposit. And so the modest village on the drawing boards of the planners has grown into a reinforced concrete monster with 300,000 residents.

I admit that only then did we really understand the kind of venture we had been drawn into. There is not a single stable source of fresh water in the region of the future industrial site. Of the 120,000 cubic meters of water a day that will be provided by the Volga-Tengiz water line, no less than 70,000 will be taken by the complex itself. All around is a desert, eaten away by the ulcers of saline lakes, beaten up to 300 days a year by raging dust storms. In the summer the temperature rises to more than 40 degrees, and in the winter it is the same 40 except with a minus sign. How will it be for hundreds of thousands of people and their children to live here? Can one bring them here with a clear conscience?

Even now in Embinskiy Rayon where the complex is being created the level of infectious diseases and diseases of the respiratory organs is higher. Specialists associate this with the poor quality of the drinking water and the high dust and gas content in the air. But the Moscow petroleum workers assert that with time the local petroleum workers will breathe easier. They say that the city of Kulsary will be just like the city of Shevchenko. Hardly. Shevchenko is at least located on the seashore and not in the desert. Moreover the "capital" of Tengiz is being built up with buildings of an outdated series which is clearly unsuitable for local climatic conditions.

In our oblast there is already a monument to the departmental ambitions of the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry—this is the city of Novyy Uzen, which is located in the center of arid Mangyshlak. And yet earlier the local authorities suggested locating the city on the excellent warm water bay in the region of Fetisovo, which is protected from the landward side from the winds by spurs of the Ustyurt mountains. And the distance to the oil fields is no more than 70 kilometers, but these were the kilometers that made the difference. Now they are convinced that no petroleum can make it possible to recoup expenditures on maintaining a city of almost 50,000 residents. Labor turnover is truly the bane to the existence of industries here. The problem of employment of women is crucial.

But the lesson has not gone unheeded. From the very beginning of the development of the Tengiz, experiencing pressure from the union ministry, the ispolkom of the local soviet could not effectively intervene in the program for the assimilation of the natural resources of its area. It is still estranged from this matter.

Only a few weeks remain before the deposit is released for operation (we are speaking about the startup of the first technological line of the Tengiz gas processing plant) and there is certainly no evidence that they are completely ready for this. The construction of facilities for the protection of nature and social, cultural, and domestic measures is lagging far behind the construction of facilities for industrial purposes. The reliability of the energy supply for the complex is in question, the level of the gas content in the air is rising, and they have not provided for meteorological observation of the environment. There is no plan for gas safety....

The funniest if not the bitterest thing is that nobody can say precisely where to transport and where to process the Tengiz oil. One gets the impression that whatever the cost the ministry has decided to "crow" about the startup and then not worry about what happens after that. Guryev residents are just as interested as the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry or the republic Gosstroy in the dynamic development of the Tengiz complex. But not to the detriment of the vulnerable, unique nature of the Northern Caspian area! We are already speaking about the plant's startup and yet we have not even legalized the allotment of the land for the complex: The surrounding pastures are disfigured by technical equipment but the petroleum workers do not want to recultivate them.

Technocrats from the capital who have become accustomed to working only in tonnes and percentages stubbornly refuse to notice the problems of efficient utilization of the region's labor resources. From the very first day of the assimilation of the deposit the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry has relied on watch workers—this volatile army of temporary day workers—while in the oblast itself there are thousands of young boys and girls, mainly natives, who cannot find suitable work and cannot acquire high labor qualifications. People ask us: Will the local authorities follow the lead of the ministry bureaucrats as usual, or will they finally have the decisive word?

The voters are calling upon us for action, and I shall not deny that we have already discussed the possibility of putting on the agenda for the session of the oblast soviets the question of halting civil construction in Kulsary. Here we are guided not by local chauvinistic emotions but by the bitter experience of the past and a sober calculation based on our knowledge of the social situation. Only after being released from the dictatorship of departmental ambitions can the soviet local authorities fulfill their real purpose—to make the lives of the people better.

We are tired of begging.

Agricultural

Post-Plenum Agricultural Tasks Outlined

PM2203134189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Being Masters of the Land. The New Agrarian Policy Approved by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum Is Designed To Solve the Food Problem"]

[Text] A modern agrarian policy is a key avenue in our party's activity, an organic part of restructuring. This is how its role and importance were assessed by the recently concluded CPSU Central Committee plenum. People in the country place great hopes and expectations on it. After all, the issue does concern something of utmost daily importance, affecting each and every one of us: foodstuffs.

Even though certain positive changes for the better have occurred in their production, the situation still remains complex. This creates social tension within society. The shortage of agricultural raw materials also holds back the development of a number of industrial sectors. The plenum laid down a program whose implementation will make it possible to sharply improve food production and to restore peasants as genuine masters of the land.

It is well known that no decisions, not even the most correct ones, can produce anything by themselves unless they are followed by practical deeds. It is on practical deeds that the new agrarian policy must be founded. Much has to be taken into account when laying these foundations: The lessons of the past as well as recently accumulated experience. This experience shows that it is first and foremost necessary to improve production relations and utilize the most diverse forms of socialist ownership. Kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms], and the diverse forms of leasing, contracts, and cooperatives must be given genuine as opposed to showcase formal autonomy. Only then will every collective and every working person be able to fully realize its or his potential.

These are not just words, this is reality. After all, the new methods of economic management are actively becoming part of life. They demolish many obstacles in their way, giving a mighty impetus to the countryside's socioeconomic development. Orel Oblast's experience was cited as an example at the plenum. Using economic accountability, leasing, and contracts as a powerful lever, the party obkom and the economic organs have managed to bring many farms that were "flat on their backs" back unto their feet. Many neglected villages have been given what is essentially a second lease of life. The Non-Chernozem Zone's outlying regions are gathering strength and are becoming increasingly solid suppliers of grain, meat, and milk. Working people in the Belgorod area have been persistently working for a long time to successfully master contemporary methods of economic activity.

Such examples are essentially to be found in every republic, in every region. But opposition to what is new is still strong. The braking process, inertia, and stagnation are spread by perfectly specific carriers. Planning, supplies, and price formation are far from perfect. And at this point let us also add the resistance by the bureaucratic apparatus.

Rural working people are yearning to cast off these chains as soon as possible, to flex their muscles, and to feel that they are masters. This is why, with special gratification, they perceive the rejection of strong-arm, pressure management methods as the most important element of restructuring. This will be promoted by the abolition of the Gosagroprom and other services and the amalgamation of diverse economic formations—from major kolkhozes, sovkhozes, agrofirms, and combines to the tiniest cooperatives and the family-run, contractual, and individual farms and stock units.

Of course, we could hardly expect everything to take off well immediately following the adoption of the relevant documents. The forces applying the brakes will not surrender without a fight. This means that complex worries lie ahead, which do not hold the promise of easy and swift success. Restructuring must be headed by local party and soviet organs. The present creates tremendous difficulties for them. On one hand, they are urged not to issue edicts, not to interfere. On the other hand, they cannot and must not remain uninvolved in the fundamental transformations in the entire rural way of life. Here there are no contradictions, however. Life has already shown: Wherever [party] committees and bureaus and local soviets have begun by restructuring their own views and thinking, by reviewing the mentality of dependence, things are working out well. There will be laws to protect economic managers from the diktat by people who give instructions without bearing any responsibility for the consequences. Communists and soviets are still left with powerful levers such as the economic and political education of the masses and the selection and placement of cadres. This is another task that has become more complex today. It is, after all, no secret that there are still insufficient numbers of trained specialists who are well versed in the processes of restructuring in the agro-industrial complex and are capable of heading the production process and ensuring a genuine breakthrough in the economy. People like these must be sought out, and extensive use must be made of methods for their efficient and rapid basic and further training.

Now the agrarian sector has a special need for reliable scientific backing. What are the promising and advantageous developments, how do we avoid dead-end situations in the economy which already have a mass of regional peculiarities? These are complex questions demanding an analysis. It is possible to cite numerous examples of fruitful cooperation between scientists and practitioners. Intensive technologies in fields and stock units and modern methods of labor organization and remuneration have already produced weighty results. It is along this avenue that an increasingly tangible contribution is made by institutes and by science and production associations and systems. The V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and its subdivisions are doing a lot for the improvement and practical introduction of different options of economic accountability, contracts, and leasing. But the link between science and agrarian production is still insufficiently strong and effective. Life demands greater boldness in undertaking research into the topical demands of practical work. They include matters concerning the forms of socialist ownership, prices and capital investment policy, and credit facilities. Economic and social forecasting is lagging behind. All this demands resolute restructuring of agrarian and fundamental science and the undertaking of research directly associated with the solution of the food problem.

The boosting of the agrarian sector will be promoted by more harmonious relations between city and countryside and by the consistent strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. This involves equalizing working and living conditions, social security, medical, trade, and cultural services. It will require efforts by soviet and trade union organs and the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] in cities and the countryside alike. There could be no nobler concern than jointly tackling the enhancement of the prestige of peasants' labor. There are quite a few people willing to participate directly in the boosting of the countryside. They must be given utmost support in such patriotic aspirations.

Of course, the problems of "convergence" should be perceived on a much broader and larger scale. In order to fulfill the tasks assigned to the countryside, much should be done by its partners: highly productive machines and equipment, fertilizers and plant protection agents, instruments, construction materials, technological lines for the processing of output. This list is far from complete. It is important to ensure equivalent exchanges between the countryside and cities. This equivalence is

still being violated. For example, there has been a sharp increase in the price of many types of equipment and materials while quality has remained the same or has deteriorated.

The agrarian sector needs effective and specific support. And this is not a matter for the foreseeable future—it must be done immediately! Stock units and complexes are working, homes and roads are being built right now. The time for spring sowing is upon us. This means that it is necessary to step up assistance to crop farmers in terms of equipment and spare parts and uninterrupted fuel supplies.

Rural working people are on the threshold of profound changes and major accomplishments. The new agrarian policy elaborated by the party and the whole country's support will help them to cope with their complex tasks.

Figures for Food Loss Due to Negligence, Crime

PM2303091589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by A. Illesh under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Losses Due to Evaporation and Spillage, Empty Shelves...."]

[Text] The topic of conversation at a briefing in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs was the state of the struggle against embezzlement in the agro-industrial complex and the militia's practical participation in implementing the Food Program. On 14 March Deputy Minister N. Demidov and the leaders of a number of main administrations acquainted journalists with facts and figures.

I will begin by saying that from January through late fall last year attempts were made to sell us all so-called substandard output in the guise of superior output. Customers were virtually paying for defective goods and potato, cabbage, and cucurbit waste, which amounts to almost 1 kg in five. Some 28 percent of tomatoes and 35 percent of grapes in stores' entire stock are also defective!

Alas, I shall cite more distressing figures. So it seems poor consolation that the number of crimes committed in the agro-industrial complex fell by 1.3 percent and the number of cases of concealed embezzlement fell by 18.4 percent. And, as reported at the briefing, in spite of everything, the state of affairs concerning protection of socialist property at agro-industrial facilities is improving only slowly. People thieve here on a large scale: One-third of all breaches of the law in our economy are within the agro-industrial complex. More than half of these are uncovered in the country's Gosagroprom [State agro-industrial Committee]: Here more than 250,000 breaches were discovered over the last 3 years. The material loss amounted to almost R300 million.

Specialists state that the most dangerous crimes are committed with the participation of the leadership of enterprises and organizations. Over 3 years no fewer than around 20,000 such criminals (people in office) were brought to account. Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, and Moldavia are among the "leaders" in losses from embezzlement and bribery. Once again there are cases involving cotton, again cases concerning flax and wool.... Yes, there is overreporting, scheming, and concealment. Here is one instance: Workers at the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Administration discovered wool worth R400,000 which was not registered and was ready for stealing. The total losses are R10 million.

Our stores are nearly always as empty as spring fields. And at meat combines, dairy plants, and other food industry enterprises people deliberately breach technological requirements and manipulating norms for wastage, losses due to evaporation, and spillage. Such crimes are particularly typical of Armenia, Georgia, Moldavia, Kirghizia, the Ukraine, and a number of RSFSR krays and oblasts. In addition to major operators, petty thieves—pilferers—are also rife. Last year in the agro-industrial complex 250,000 people were caught redhanded. That was almost 53 percent of the country's army of pilferers. Valuables worth R1.8 million were pulled out of their bags. The figures, I agree, are depressing. But, according to specialist information, only 6 percent of thefts in the meat and dairy industry are actually uncovered....

Of course, the militia was able to return to the people only some of the material taken. Even this was a great deal. Agricultural output worth R16.2 million was saved from theft and 90,000 head of unregistered livestock were entered in the books merely as a result of preventive measures....

Incidentally, the militia is not only catching criminals, but also helping to resolve the country's Food Program. Now the [internal affairs] ministry is one of the largest producers of technology and equipment for the agro-industrial complex. More than 140 specialized enterprises (belonging to the system of correctional labor institutions) produce 170 types of machines and equipment and about 1,000 types of spare parts. About 11 percent of the total amount of this equipment manufactured in the country is literally the handiwork of people serving sentences. In 1988 alone equipment totaling R900 million was delivered to kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] of the country [by these enterprises], and, taking into account production sharing with sector ministries' plants, the figure was 1.8 billion (!).

Some more illustrations. These correctional labor institution enterprises are the main and sometimes even the only producers of types of machines such as disk and spike-tooth harrows, tractor hitches, grain loaders, grain throwers, and stubble plows.... In 3 years 140,000 tractor

and truck trailers, more than 7 million disk and spike-tooth harrows, 187,000 tractor hitches, 200,000 subsurface cultivators and cultivators, 100,000 grain throwers and grain loaders, and 135,000 transporters have been made there....

The total area allotted to USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs farms has increased and this year amounts to 617,600 hectares. Of which plowland accounts for 195,100 hectares.... The number of cattle is over 80,000. There are also a great many pigs, sheep, and goats.... How does this "fit in" with the modern concept of developing the socialist countryside?

...At least two conclusions emerge from all the facts and figures: The agro-industrial complex presents plenty of scope for the militia's work. And the second point: It should not be forgotten that law enforcement organs are basically a surgical instrument. The economy, where theft is rife, can only be cured by economic methods if it is to be healthy.

Murakhovskiy Attends Agricultural Science Meeting

LD2303041489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] The results of work completed over the last few years were summed up and tasks for the implementation of present-day agrarian policy were determined at an annual general meeting of academicians and corresponding members of the All-Union Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Comrade Murakhovskiy took part in the meeting's work.

Warm 1989 Winter, Crop Conditions Discussed

* Early 1989 Weather Anomalies

18240107 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by A. Shuvalov: "A January that Surprised Everyone"]

[Text] "Old-timers will not remember such a January...." This grating phrase, so endearing to those who write about any weather anomaly, takes on its own primordial meaning when one becomes familiar with the results of this past January. They truly are unique. Thus, in Moscow we became witnesses and also felt in full measure the warmest January in 110 years. This time, the average monthly temperature exceeded the norm by 8 whole degrees, surpassing by almost 1 degree the previous record of 1882; moreover, it was even higher than the usual March weather.

Overshadowed by this is the considerably milder winter, although not with a lot of snow, in Siberia, Kazakhstan, and the Far East, to where the Atlantic winds have been stubbornly forcing their way.

The weather also has become the "topic of the day" in Western Europe, whose inhabitants are surprised at the snowless winter. That is why this past January merits careful, scrupulous study by climatologists and weather forecasters.

Well, what are all the consequences of the anomalies? Some of them can be seen, as they say, with the naked eye. The most obvious positive aspect, of course, is the fuel savings. The second in order, but by no means in importance, is the milder than usual wintering of livestock on farms. However, we cannot help but mention the negative aspects of the weather that concern the peasants. That is the perishing of winter crops in a number of oblasts of the Russian Non-Chernozem Zone, where the temperature has risen to 0 degrees under a cap of still quite deep snow. There is also an ice crust in the northeast Ukraine that has gripped the winter crops that have pushed up.

The snow line has receded far to the eastern part of the country. Warm winds have stripped the fields and sharply lowered the hardiness of plants in the Baltic region, Belorussia, Moldavia, and most of the Ukraine. Although February again began with warm weather, the end of winter is still not near, and it is likely that cold weather will return.

Finally, as the saying goes: "Winter builds summer." What kind of a summer will this kind of a winter build? There may be no definitive answer. But we can find analogies in the past and look at what the summer weather was like following such very warm Januaries. According to climatic data, in addition to the year 1882 already mentioned, we can include among them the years 1925, 1932, 1944, 1949, 1959, 1975, and 1983. The severe drought of 1975 stands out among these. In the majority of the rest of the years, dry conditions were encountered only in spots, and in a number of cases the moisture did not differ at all from the usual.

* 10-Day Weather, Crop Condition Report

18240107 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 18 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Ye. Solovyeva, agricultural meteorologist: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Unusually warm weather remains in the European portion of the country. The average air temperature during the first 10 days of March was 5-9 degrees higher than the long-term average in the majority of regions. In the southern half of Belorussia, in the Ukraine, in Moldavia, and in the North Caucasus, winter crops and perennial grasses continue to grow. The moisture availability of crops is predominantly good.

Over most of the territory of the Baltic region, in northern Belorussia, and in the southwestern central Chernozem Zone, plant growth is noted during the daylight hours. Swelling of buds continues with fruit crops.

In the southern and western oblasts of the Ukraine, in Moldavia, in Krasnodar Kray, in southern Stavropol Kray, and in Rostov Oblast, the soil has been soft for 20-30 days, but in southwestern Belorussia and in places in the Baltic republics it reached this state 1-1.5 months earlier than the long-term average. Favorable conditions were created for selective planting of early spring crops.

Over the predominant part of the Severnyy, Volgo-Vyatskiy, and Uralskiy rayons, in the western Tsentralnyy Rayon, and in the northern Povolzhskiy Rayon, where the snow cover remains and the minimum soil temperature at the depth of occurrence of the tillering nodes of winter crops and the crowns of grasses is still between 0 and -2 degrees, the processes of plants dying may continue.

It is warm in the republics of the Transcaucasus. Winter crops and perennial grasses have been growing here for most of the 10 days. Plum, cherry, and apricot buds have been noted opening, which is 30-40 days earlier than the long-term average. Over most of the territory, the soil is soft and conditions for field work are favorable.

In the farming zone of western Siberia and in northern Kazakhstan, the winter crops and grasses are under a snow cover, which is 25-50 cm in most rayons and about 15 cm in Altay Kray. The wintering of plants is proceeding well.

Warm weather prevailed in the republics of Central Asia (with the exception of Kirghizia). The maximum air temperature rose to 18 degrees here and to 21 degrees in southern Turkestan and Uzbekistan. The buds of apple trees and other fruit crops continue to swell. Conditions here are favorable for field work.

Light rains are expected Saturday and Sunday in the northern half of the European portion of the country. There will be heavy rains in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

The Urals, Siberia, and a large part of Kazakhstan will remain in the grip of winter. Although there are frequent thaws here, they give way to freezing weather, very severe in places.

Scientific

New Standards for Contaminated Chernobyl Areas

LD2303133789 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Minsk March 23 TASS—The Belorussian Government has adopted new residential and economic standards for areas contaminated after the April 1986 Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident.

The norms set a lifetime ceiling of 35 REMS (Roentgen Equivalent Man) for people in the contaminated areas. The amount of permissible radiation per person will be counted assuming that the person was born or moved to the area in childhood in 1986-1989 and will spend all his life, 70-75 years, in the area.

Limitations on living and using local products on territories with cesium-137 contamination levels of less than 15 curie per square kilometre will be lifted because people living in these areas will not receive the top permissible radiation dose, experts believe.

In areas with higher contamination levels decontamination will continue. Local foods will remain banned.

There are 20 villages in Belorussia where radiation levels over a lifetime may exceed the 35 REM limit and if decontamination fails to decrease the levels, residents will be evacuated.

"Before setting these standards officials consulted prominent foreign experts, many of whom think that the dose is too low and could have been raised to 50 REM in one lifetime", academician Leonid Ilyin, vice president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and a noted expert in radiology, told TASS.

"In the first days after the accident part of the population, mostly children, had their thyroid glands exposed to radioactive iodine. In some areas iodine preventive treatment came too late and with lesser effect. Some people might suffer from enlarged thyroids seven to eight years after the accident. Most growths will be benign but there is also a very small possibility of malignancies two to three years later."

Ilyin called for scrupulous medical monitoring of children who had been exposed to iodine radiation to prevent possible complications.

Military

Military Cuts, Afghan Policy Questioned

PM2103152789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[B. Markushin review of readers' letters: "Sincere Opinions, Sober Assessments; Reflections on Readers' Letters"]

[Text] Even during a cursory review of readers' mail, you cannot fail to notice that the number of controversial issues, independent views, and people's attempts to have their say on politics is clearly increasing. This awakening of the reader and his desire to make his contribution to what was formerly regarded as the exclusive domain of ranking leaders undoubtedly reflects the changes in our country's social life. The overwhelming majority of letters, which arrive on the editorial office's foreign desk, are sincere and frank and often make no secret of a certain amount of doubt.

What are people concerned about? Above all it is questions of the country's security. Someone has said that great changes frequently go together with great uncertainty. There is a grain of truth in this. The Soviet Union has embarked on discarding old-established stereotypes. Much that was yesterday regarded as unshakable principles is being subjected to resolute reinterpretation. Dogmatism is ceding ground to flexibility and rationalism. How could one omit to recall Lenin's laconic remark here that politics means interests. Interests, yes, but not ambitions or pious wishes.

However, from time to time you come across readers' peculiar opinions. I will cite a from a letter by G. Sidlyarevskiy, a war veteran from Odessa: "...Unfortunately, it has now become customary to courteously bow and scrape before the capitalist camp. Having failed to achieve agreement on mutual reductions, we announce unilateral ones.... I just hope that our descendants do not condemn us for such a shortsighted policy. The United States is defending its interests everywhere, while we are embarrassed to mention ours, and end up looking like poor relations." A. Naumchik, a war veteran from Lvov expresses similar views. "We are trying to be good to the United States by reducing our Army," he writes.

Judging by appearances, such views are entertained not just by isolated individuals. And they adduce arguments. B. Iyulskiy from Novosibirsk, for instance, pondering the "erroneousness" of the steps undertaken by the Soviet Union in the disarmament sphere warns against a repetition of the blunders of the past which lost us 20 million lives.

There is no doubt about the fact that these losses could have been smaller. However, what would the losses in a new world war be? Here, too, there can be no doubt that they are scarcely conceivable. For precisely this reason it is impossible to adhere any longer to the old approaches of ensuring national security. Only by strengthening trust between states, rather than building up military muscle, can tension be reduced and peace strengthened.

"When we disarm, we are taking a risk and showing weakness," Muscovite N. Pobedrikin writes. As for the risk, the actions of the Soviet side probably contain an element of it. But are resolute measures without a certain amount of risk possible in general? However, talking about showing weakness in the face of the West is unfounded. Rather the reverse. All the steps that the Soviet Union has taken in the disarmament sphere were steps of a power confident of its strength and also of the expediency of these steps from the viewpoint of economic interests.

It was the interests of the Soviet people which dictated also such an important act as the witdrawal of forces from Afghanistan. However, no matter how strange this may seem, this long awaited reality does, for some reason, evoke discontent on the part of certain readers. The aforementioned G. Sidlyarevskiy believes that "Our expenditure as a result of the withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan has not decreased," that "100,000 servicemen still have to be fed and clothed, no matter where they are." Those who have lived through the Afghan epic are hardly likely to view this opinion with understanding. And not only they.

The following thought has also been expressed—by A. Telnov from Balabanov, Kaluga Oblast, to be specific. The withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan should have been halted because, following the departure of the Soviet forces, the armed opposition is now trying to topple the legitimate government. Yet our people approved the withdrawal of forces as a necessary, correct, and humane step. And what is more, the Soviet Union acted strictly in accordance with the Geneva accords. Furthermore, it must also be noted that the Afghan Government and the Afghan Army have the real potential, as practical experience has shown, to cope with the tasks in rebutting the attacks of the armed opposition.

A whole lot of letters are connected with the problem of Afghanistan, letters in which readers express their concern for the fate of Soviet servicemen who were taken prisoner. This concern is understandable, it reflects compassion for our compatriots and a desire to get them home as soon as possible. However, the fact that having decided to write to the newspaper, some seekers of the truth act on rumors, and farfetched rumors at that, is causing puzzlement. What is the basis of the claims of A. Slepukha from the Ukrainian city of Aleksandriya, for instance, who mentions thousands of Soviet prisoners of war?

The puzzlement is even greater if a scientist of world renown makes use of rumors or deliberately slipped in disinformation. This refers to a statement by Academician A. Sakharov which indicates that during the years of war in Afghanistan there were instances where Soviet helicopter men shot their own soldiers who had been encircled, to prevent their being taken prisoner. Following the publication of an interview with Lieutenant General B. Gromov on this issue, which completely disproved this fabrication, the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office received many letters condemning Academician A. Sakharov's conduct and even demanding that a judicial investigation be carried out. Those who sent in such letters included V. Vakulenko, B. Ostroumov, I. Osipov, Ye. Timofeyev, O. Ziganshin, N. Volgin, P. Tsvetkov, V. Kondrashov, N. Stupnikov, and many others. There were also collective letters. For instance from the staff and students at the Armored Forces Military Academy and a group of helicopter crewmen who had served in Afghanistan. I will confine myself to a quote from the letter sent in by P. Novitskiy, Major General of Aviation, meritorious military pilot of the USSR.

He writes: "I am familiar with the painful reaction on the part of Soviet servicemen to the statement of Academician A. Sakharov. Personally, I have great respect for this scientist who has enriched our motherland and all mankind with major discoveries and has demonstrated an

irrepressible desire to put them in the service of mankind, and I admire his civic courage and his qualities of a fighter. The report published in your newspaper dealt with a matter with which I am familiar. Therefore I can state with utmost responsibility that there has never been a single case where helicopters were used to fire on our servicemen who had been encircled or taken prisoner. On the other hand, many examples could be cited where helicopter crews, risking their own lives, rescued subunits of ground forces. It was during the implementation of tasks of this kind that the helicopter men sustained heavy losses. It is for the sake of the bright memory of the helicopter men who died that we, who have survived, irrespective of our rank or titles, must assess their actions in the extreme conditions of Afghanistan truthfully and objectively.... Our people must know that the crews who flew helicopters in Afghan skies consisted of people who, under no circumstances, were able to shoot their own comrades-in-arms."

There is absolutely nothing one could add to these words. They are food for thought about the need to treat with care our spiritual values, the memory of our compatriots, and the sense of justice which is prized so highly by our people.

AN-225 Transport Plane Flight Tested 22 Mar

LD2203175489 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Kiev March 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valentin Vernodubenko:

The world's biggest transport plane AN-225 called "Mria" performed its 44th flight on Wednesday. Flight characteristics were tested during the previous runs. This time the plane carried the commercial payload of 156.3 tonnes. It was airborne for three and half hours and aimed at smashing 106 world air records at a time.

The flight started from an airfield near Kiev. The Mria smoothly streaked into the skies after a short takeoff. The liner reached the altitude of 7,800 metres and picked up the velocity of 800 km/hr. It headed for Vitebsk and then for Leningrad. The plane made a turnaround in the area of the Pulkovo Airport and returned to its airfield. After completing its flight along a closed circuit of 2,000 kilometres, the crew set fireworks of world air records in the class of turbojet planes and planes with a takeoff mass of over 300 tonnes.

Mria's maximum takeoff weight amounted to 508.2 tonnes. Up to now the U.S. Boeing-747-400 held this record officially whose maximum takeoff mass amounted to 404.8 tonnes during its record-setting flight last year. True, back in 1985 the Soviet jet Ruslan eclipsed this figure, zooming into the skies with the takeoff mass of 450 tonnes. However, the FAI [expansion unknown] table had no such record at the time. It was introduced later.

This time Mria broke 52 records only by flight velocity along the closed circuit of 2,000 kilometres with the commercial payload of 150 tonnes. While returning to its airfield, the AN-225 smashed another world high in the area of Kiev, lifting its cargo to the altitude of 12,000 metres.

It is planned during further tests to bring the commercial payload to 250 tonnes. In this case Mria's total takeoff weight will amount to 600 tonnes.